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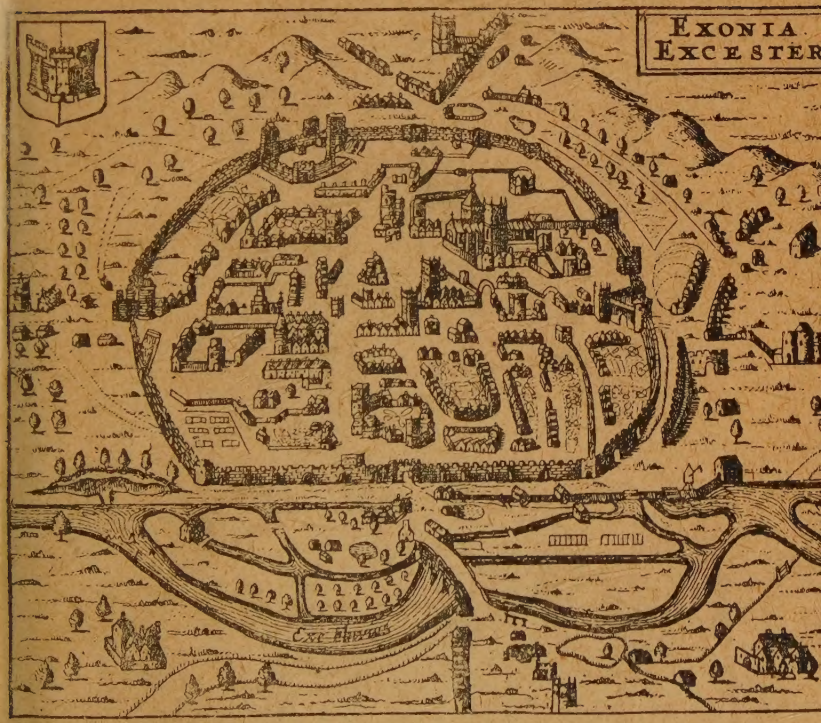
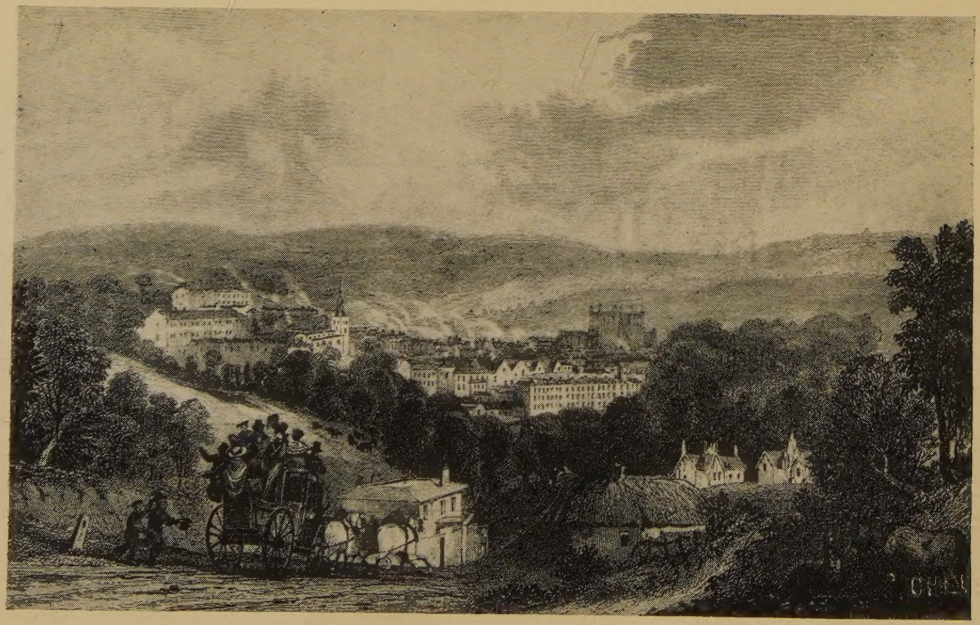
Rambles in Old Exeter

By



MAP OF EXETER 1661.

Beatrix F. Cresswell



EXETER FROM PENNSYLVANIA HILL

(*From an Old Engraving in the City Library, Exeter*).

942.3549

RAMBLES IN OLD EXETER

BY

BEATRIX F. CRESSWELL

Author of 'Dartmoor and its Surroundings,'
'The Churches of Exeter,' etc.

EXETER:
JAMES G. COMMIN, 230, HIGH STREET,
1927.

CONTENTS.

		Page
Introduction.		
Bibliography.		
Chapter I.	Up and down the Streets: 1—The High Street	5
Chapter II.	Up and down the Streets: 2—The Fore Street	16
Chapter III.	The Cathedral: 1—The Building and the Builders	26
Chapter IV.	The Cathedral: 2—Monuments and Memorials ... ... The Chapter House and Library	43
Chapter V.	The Close	57
Chapter VI.	The Guildhall	70
Chapter VII.	St. Mary Arches Church; St. Nicholas' Priory; The Norman Hall	83
Chapter VIII.	The Castle and the Walls—within and beyond them	99
Chronology of Events	... ...	117
Index of Places	... ...	122

INTRODUCTION.

This is not a history of Exeter, nor a guide book. It represents the wanderings of one familiar with an old city, and loving it; who describes scenes, events, and localities in discursive fashion; now and then loitering to mention something irrevelant, suggested by the surroundings.

They have been bounded by the limit of the city walls, or they might have expanded beyond all measure.

Such descriptions cannot be given without taking advantage of the knowledge of those historical or antiquarian writers whose works are available for reference; and due acknowledgment must be made to the pages of the following authors, whose fuller histories can be studied at leisure by those who wish to know more of the history of Exeter than this little book professes to record.

Beatrix F. Cresswell.

Exeter, 1927.

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Acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Eland Bros., for permission to use the picture of the South Tower of the Cathedral, and to the Homeland Association for kindly lending three blocks for illustrations; the engraving of old Exeter from Pennsylvania Hill is from the collection in the City Library, and has been specially photographed by Mr. W. Weaver-Baker for this book.

RAMBLES IN OLD EXETER.

CHAPTER I.

UP AND DOWN THE STREETS.

1, THE HIGH STREET.

OF Exeter it has been written that it is the "one English city in which we can feel sure that human habitation and city life have never ceased from the days of the early Cæsars to our own."

Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane and Norman have wandered hither each leaving some mark upon the stones. Thus a necklace is made for History's Muse with beads of various types, some re-polished, others new, but the silk on which they are strung is the unbroken record of the past.

It is a city set on a hill, surrounded by other hills, like the central stone of a rose-diamond ring. Everwhere these green heights rise round it, soaring into dim distances that at sunset seem to melt into the sky. Like other cities it has its ragged fringes on the outskirts that "smear the little space between the city and the sown."

But here we feel that it is not so much the city that is devouring the country, as the country finding its way back, gathering the city into its arms, and concealing things unsightly under robes of green.

The traveller will probably enter this " ancient and loyal city " (as the Bidding Prayer calls it every Sunday) by one of the newest streets. Queen Street, first opened in 1837, named in honour of the young Queen Victoria who had just ascended the throne.

Her youthful figure, in crown and crinoline, decorates a corner, and at the further end, where it goes out to the country side, is the bronze equestrian statue of the old Queen's general, Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., usually with a laurel wreath on the pedestal, for Devon does not forget her hero.

From east to west the main thoroughfare goes down to the river. It has been said to display no two houses alike, and in spite of modern alterations still answers to this description. The gates have long since been demolished, but local nomenclature preserves their memory. In a niche at the top of the High Street stands the figure of Henry VIIth, formerly on the East Gate, which he entered in state October 7, 1497, bringing Perkin Warbeck with him as a prisoner, and being loyally received by the citizens, some of whom wondered how

much longer their heads would be on their shoulders, a few executions then being a favourite entertainment for royal visitors. Henry VIIth amused himself in another fashion as will presently be told, and Exeter adorned the gate with his statue.

Dates of various periods proclaim the antiquity of various houses, or the business conducted within. The Apothecaries Hall was established in 1789, perhaps then superseding the herbalist with his simples. We may doubt the accuracy of 1297 as the period of a pretty Tudor front, but it thrills visitors who see it from the top of a tram-car. The Bookseller hung out his sign The Bible in 1790.

On each side of a gateway, just below the General Post Office, are bronze figures of Blue-coat boys. At certain times, boys, very much alive, but no longer in blue-coats, shout and scramble after the exuberant fashion of youth released from learning. This is St. John's School. The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was one of the oldest religious foundations in Exeter, originally belonging to the city. Outside the walls was the Bishop's Lepers Hospital, whose inmates were allowed to enter the city and beg a dole on market days. This occasioned many complaints : " the people could not brook their ugly faces nor endure such sick folk among them."

Eventually a compromise was effected, the Mayors undertaking the charge of the lepers, and exchanging for St. Mary Magdalen's Lepers Hospital, the hospital of St. John. In the 14th century Bishop Grandisson increased the endowment, and established a master of Grammar with twelve scholars. In spite of its practical utility the foundation was suppressed at the Reformation. Hugh Crossing, Mayor in 1620, secured it with the intention of refounding the school, a work carried out by his widow in 1629. Eighteen free scholars were elected, who were to be orphans, children of Exeter citizens. These were the Blue-boys, whose distinctive dress was relinquished in the 19th century.

A bastion of the city wall can be seen in one corner of the school yard, the wall extending behind the school buildings, and down the backs of the houses in Southernhay, formerly called the Crolldítch.

Underground passages are universally mentioned in connection with any ancient place or building. Usually their existence is fictitious and locally impossible. Exeter really possesses them. A labyrinth of passages of which one of the openings is in Bampfylde Street, outside St. John's School. They thread their way, low damp and dirty under the High Street, accessible only to Antiquaries, and civic authorities. But Exeter is very proud of them, and very

BAMPFYLDE HOUSE.

From an Etching by N. H. J. Baird. *(By permission of Messrs. Eland Bros.)*

jealous of them, as recent attempts to tamper with them for purposes of local " improvement " disclosed.

Bampfylde House, built by Amyas Bampfylde of Poltimore in the 16th century, was the town house of that family in olden times.

In the courtyard is a leaden cistern dated 1724. A window in the hall contains shields of old glass displaying the family arms, which are repeated over the mantel piece of the panelled room upstairs where there is an enriched plaster ceiling. A smaller room retains quaint cupboards by the fireplace, and has a powdering closet opening from it. Though now used for business purposes Bampfylde House is reminiscent of hoops and powder, and it would be no surprise if in the twilight some beau of the 18th century gracefully offered a pinch from his snuff box as we passed him on the stair.

A feature of the city which always attracts attention is the frequent interruption of the line of places of business with places of worship. Little churches of local red stone, rearing little embattled towers above the shops, or trying to do so, for they are too often dwarfed by modern ambitious structures, though they must formerly have risen in dignity over the timbered and thatched roofs of the medieval city.

The tower of St. Lawrence is so disproportioned to the low nave beneath that a local joke

tells of the country lad who exclaimed "What a girt big chimbly that there little house have got!"

Above the porch is a figure of Queen Elizabeth formerly upon a conduit. Just beside the tower is the narrowest possible slip (in Devonian a "drangway") which surprises the enterprising wanderer by leading him into a tiny courtyard where there are two little houses, their porches overgrown with white jessamine, and a fat friendly cat offers a welcome. A delicious corner of the old city, with the red wall and cusped windows of the old church at one side of it.

Wanderings lead to the conclusion that medieval Exeter must have alternated clusters of little buildings with those of larger growth occupying much space. Where Bedford Circus breaks the line of the street, the convent of the Black Friars originally stood.

Their disputes with Cathedral dignitaries are recorded by local historians. At their gate in 1301 the body of Sir Henry Raleghe lay for a week, while the Friars and the Chapter disputed as to where he should be buried and who should have the fees. No one cared much where he was buried, but each party wanted the fees, the Chapter asserting its prerogative of having all the burial fees of the city. Finally, to end the scandal, the interment was made in the Cathedral, where the knight's effigy still lies.

At the dissolution of the monasteries the property was given to Lord Russell, Earl of Bedford, who built Bedford House on the site.

Hither came Queen Henrietta Maria in the troublous days of the Parliamentary wars, and here in 1643 her youngest child Henrietta Anne, afterwards Duchess of Orleans was born. In later times the vast mansion was pulled down, and Bedford Circus erected. A tablet records its former history, almost hidden by the Virginian creeper that covers the house fronts.

Whoever possesses No. 25 the High Street is met by Clio on the stairs, who bids them remember her prior claim to the premises as a notable landmark of local history. The earliest mention is in 1456, when the New Inn is referred to as being in the parish of St. Stephens. It appears to have been held on lease and farmed out to under-tenants. In 1545, the Newe Inne was leased by the Dean and Chapter to Master Thomas Sothorne, Treasurer of the Cathedral. In 1586 it was leased to the Mayor and Chamber for forty years. Valentine Tooker, in 1612 complained that he had notice to quit his " newe dwelling house in the Newe Inne of which he had been a tennant for many years " (this sounds rather a bull on Master Valentine's part). He managed to remain on till 1617 when he received £43 as a compensation from the Chamber, and £6 16s. " for all those seylunges*, stayned or

*Ceilings.

paynted clothes, shelfs, goods and chattels" left by him in the Newe Inne. It must have been a vast building containing the Newe Inne Halle, or Cloth Hall, where the Cloth merchants English and foreign met for the three annual cloth fairs. It had spaces for shops that were then rented by the merchants, who shewed their goods. Some of these were dark, one man complained that he had to burn candles all day.

Exeter fairs are things of the past, but annually towards the end of July the city mace-bearers parade the street carrying a huge stuffed glove, set on a staff, wreathed with flowers. They are proclaiming the Lammas Fair, and this glove set on the Guildhall extends for four days "the hand of friendship" to all comers.

A lively description of the New Inn at Fair time is given by a local writer:

> "This New Inn was the great institution of the city. Here the three Fairs of the year were held, which attracted merchants from London and all parts, the principal persons having offices of their own in which to shew their samples, and make contracts with local manufacturers. It must have been a picturesque sight, the pack horses streaming in from all sides, the good wives beaming with excitement over the lively scene, from their safe view from lattice windows in the quaint old gables! What bustle and confusion before all

was ready for business ! The assemblage of hundreds of horses, the neighing and stamping, the anathemas of stablemen, the unloading of packs, the greetings of friends and customers, and (in the 17th century) the unpleasant side of the question, the inquisitorial demand if you were a Royalist in disguise, or have come from a plague infected district."

Among the travellers who came here was "Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany," in 1669. He landed at Falmouth and (as we should say) broke his journey to London at Exeter, and stayed at the New Inn.

Local contemporary writers had great difficulties with his name, frequently given as "Cosmo, Duke of Tuskey." He was actually Cosimo di Medici, third of that name and sixth Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last but one of the great Florentine family who made themselves and their city famous for all time. Cosimo the third has been described as a luxurious and selfish bigot ; but he gave Florence the Venus di Medici, and left for us a precious treasure in the description of our city as he saw it in 1669 : "Intersected almost in the middle by a large straight street, which is its best and most considerable part." When he arrived the people assembled in numbers to see him pass and he "alighted at the inn called the New Inn," where the county gentlemen called to pay their respects

to him, and the Mayor arrived in state to welcome him to the city.

Not until after the Grand Duke had left Exeter was that fine feature added to the building which it still retains, the ceiling of the banqueting hall, or Apollo Room, erected in 1689 by Thomas Lane, plasterer, who received £50 for the work from the City Chamber.

It is a fine example of enriched plaster work, with the arms of the city and of county families introduced upon the cornice. These have however been so much varnished as to be almost indistinguishable. A figure of Apollo on the ornament gave the name to the room.

Below these premises an arch "Stephen's Bow" crosses a narrow street. Beside it is St. Stephen's Church, remarkable because the altar is raised upon a flight of steps above the bow, for the use of which the churchwardens pay a small rent to the city. This curious arrangement is explained when we learn that this was originally a side chapel of St. John the Evangelist, the actual site of the high altar being where is now placed a picture of the Woman of Samaria.

Unattractive though this church appears, it has a history of considerable interest, being one of the Domesday churches of Devon, then recorded as belonging to the Bishop of Exeter. It is by virtue of Stephen's Fee, given by the

Conqueror, that Exeter's Bishop has his seat in the House of Lords as a Baron of England. It is not improbable that the Norman crypt may have been the original church. It is now closed but a drawing of it made in the 19th century hangs in the vestry. When the church was sold by order of the Commonwealth, Toby Allen of the Weavers and Fullers Company used it as a stable.

On the death of Cromwell, General Monk, in his undertakings for the restoration of the monarchy had to get rid of the Parliamentary soldiers from London. Under the pretext of garrisoning his own loyal regiments, he despatched the London men westwards, and fifteen hundred of them were unwillingly received in Exeter, and lodged in St. Stephen's Church. It seems however, incredible that the building could have accommodated so many men. After the restoration of the King, came the restoration of the churches. The parishioners of St. Stephen's cleared their church from all its pollutions, and practically rebuilt it, only to have it accidentally burnt down as soon as finished. With praiseworthy zeal they rebuilt it again, and if the building exhibits few architectural merits we may pardon its shortcomings when we know the vicissitudes of its story that places it among the historical churches of Exeter.

CHAPTER II.

UP AND DOWN THE STREETS.

2, THE FORE STREET.

BELOW the Guildhall the street still continues its straight course to the River Exe, but it is now the Fore Street, with North Street and South Street branching away at the Carfax; the pretty old term is not retained though it is well known.

The "conduit at the Carfax," mentioned in old accounts of the city, also no longer exists. It was large, and must have incommoded even the modest traffic of bygone days. Until the 19th century it was the water supply for almost all the city. Here the poor brought their buckets, and water carriers filled barrels which they took from house to house of the better class citizens. Very superior residences had their own pumps and wells. Occasionally in honour of Royal visitors the conduit flowed with wine, and the citizens had the opportunity of getting royally drunk at the expense of the city. Those were the "good old times." Now water is laid on and the conduit flows no longer.

At the corner of the Carfax is a figure of St. Peter, Exeter's patron saint, he holds the keys, and is trampling either on a demon or a

pagan. The origin of this ancient figure is lost in obscurity. Though not always at this corner, he has from time immemorial overlooked the street from somewhere near this vicinity.

Two places call for attention before we descend the hill. St. Petrock's Church shall have the precedence. It represents British Exeter and most likely indicates the actual mission station of St. Petroc, for the Celtic churches were given the names of their saintly founders, not dedicated as were those of the Saxons, to the saints and martyrs who had passed into glory.

St. Petroc, who died circa A.D. 500, June 4, has been called the Apostle of the West, and his name is associated with many a west country parish. His wondrous adventures may have been represented in the church, in glass or mural painting, long since destroyed.

They are mixed up with a silver bowl on which he floated to an unknown island, where for seven years he lived on one fish that daily came to life again after having been eaten, and a wolf who guarded his cloak upon the sea shore all the long time of his absence. His figure in modern glass in the church, is taken from the seal of his religious foundation, Bodmin Priory, but does not represent his emblems a wolf and a silver bowl.

The church is extraordinarily crooked. The only way to comprehend its vagaries, is to stand facing the font, now placed in the original

chancel. Then the double South Aisle can be located, the " Jesus Aisle " erected early in the 16th century, and consecrated by Thomas Chard, last Abbot of Ford, acting as suffragan to Bishop Oldham (1505-1519). In a case near the doors is a Paraphrase of Erasmus, " le Bybel," bought for 8/4 in 1539, and Bishop Jewell's works, retaining the chains that fastened them to desks for passing readers who came into the church.

At the base of a monument to Jonathan and Elizabeth Ivie is a sculpture representing the Last Judgement by John Weston, " sculptor Exon," an unknown artist who carved these monumental reliefs early in the 18th century. His really beautiful work occurs in several Devonshire churches; of the artist nothing seems to be known except his name. This monument was brought into St. Petrock's from the church of St. Kerrian, another dedication of British Exeter, now only surviving as a tower in North Street. Although the two churches have been held under one rector for many years, with the persistency of English habits the parish of St. Kerrian still elects churchwardens, and asserts a nominal independence. St. Kerrian was the patron saint of the Tinners of Dartmoor and Cornwall, and his church near the North Gate must have been their resort when they came in bringing the white metal for sale which made the city known to fame as " Excestria clara metallis," Exeter famous for white metal.

From the church the wanderer may resort to the inn, not, it is to be hoped, because these ecclesiological details have made him thirsty, but because it was at the Turk's Head, close to the Guildhall that Dickens discovered the Fat Boy of Pickwick. Dickens made other discoveries in Exeter. Some of his odd names were not of his own composing, but local, and it is only recently that the citizens have ceased paying their rates to a Snodgrass, Treasurer's clerk. Dickens asserts that he could not learn what place Mr. Pickwick indicated by Eatenswill, but it is shrewdly supposed that Dickens was describing the contested election in Exeter of 1835. Pickwick was published in 1836. Readers will remember the account of the bands, the banners, the carriages and four, and the rioting experienced by Mr. Pickwick and his friends. Let us compare this with the contemporary account from the diary of a lady then residing in Heavitree:

"Sir William Follett and Mr. Divett returned members for Exeter. A lady, Mrs. Paddon, was so much alarmed at finding herself unable to get out of the crowd assembled to hear Sir William's speech, as to be carried home in hysterics and died the same night."

"The young ladies went to see the Procession from Pipers windows. It passed our back gate, yeomen on horseback, banners, music, &c."

These same young ladies went to the Election Ball dressed in the candidates colours: "they said the company at the ball were few and select." It really is a loss that Dickens never found out if Mr. Pickwick and his friends were there.

Dickens acquaintance with Exeter arose from the circumstance that he took a house near the city for his father and mother, Mile End Cottage, still standing on the Alphington Road. He must have made himself familiar with the neighbourhood when visiting them, for he represents the Nickleby family, their troubles ended, living happily ever after at Dawlish.

The Fore Street becomes more old fashioned as it drops steeply down hill. Mark the old fronts and gabled roofs. On a ridge tile is a little gilded man on horseback, who is said to have indicated that a cavalier might safely shelter under the roof. The little figure must then have been less conspicuously gilded than he appears to-day.

Down, down the hill; churches on either side of the street; spaces guarded by stone balustrades, where looking over you may see narrow byways below, or the gleams of dark water where the mill leat is running towards the river.

The Tudor building raised up a flight of steps on the opposite side of the street, is the Tucker's

MILE END COTTAGE.

(*By permission of the Homeland Association*).

Hall, belonging to the Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen, Exeter's last surviving craft gild, the Tuckers were the Fullers, the name being still familiar both as a surname and a place name.

Medieval craft gilds, though not religious foundations, placed themselves under the protection of some patron saint. The weavers and tuckers designated themselves "The Fraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Weavers, Tuckers and Shearmen."

From the Mayor's Court Roll we learn that on May 13, 1471, this chapel of the Assumption "was buylded." At some previous period a chantry was founded by the gild in the church of St. Mary Arches. This was suppressed, and the company almost lost the chapel as well. By some means or another they managed to retain it; we meet with a good many petitions from the Company (a safer term than Fraternity) to the Mayor, to be allowed the use of "a certyn chapel called the Chapel of the Assumption," not for sacred but secular purposes.

Eventually in Elizabeth's reign they purchased the chapel, and its endowment lands, legally their own property, from the profiteers who secured crown grants merely to sell them again.

To prevent any further seizure of the building, immediate alterations were effected, to transform the chapel into the Tuckers Hall.

It was divided by flooring into two rooms, stairs were added, and a fireplace and chimney. Other decorations were gradually given. The panelling that renders the upper room so handsome bears the date 1638. At the end of the seventeenth century the lower room was used as a school for the sons of poor freemen of the company, which was maintained until the 19th century.

The Tuckers Hall is the representative of Exeter's great woollen trade, which flourished from the 15th century, or earlier, till the introduction of machinery swept it away to the north of England. All old writers on the city mention it. It attracted the attention of Cosimo di Medici who must have observed the trade with interest, for the *Arte di lana* was the most important of the Florentine craft gilds, just as was the Weavers and Tuckers Company at Exeter. Beside the river the Tucking mills, worked by water power, were clacking all day long ; in the open spaces above were the rack fields, with the cloth stretched out to dry. The manufactory has gone, but the Weavers and Fullers yet administer the charities endowed by the generosity of past members, and the list of the Masters of the Company is complete from 1545 to the present day. The Beadle in his quaint dress is ready to show the Hall on certain days in the week to visitors ; down on the quay

is the Bishop Blaize Inn where once the jolly 'Prentices drank and gossiped, each in the green baize apron with red strings, described by Daniel Defoe as being worn in Exeter " by almost every other man you meet, all freemen of the Incorporated Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen."

Soon after passing the Tuckers Hall a flight of steps leads from Fore Street to Exe Island, formerly belonging to the Courtenays, lapsing to the crown on the attainder of Henry Marquis of Exeter, and given to the city in 1549, as a reward for Exeter's loyalty during the Prayer Book Rebellion.

Turning up a few yards on the right, one of the best examples may be seen of the ornate slate work characteristic of the west country. A Tudor rose on the decoration has given the name of Tudor House to the building; but besides this it displays the arms of Sir Simon Leach, a Devonshire worthy not ashamed to describe himself on his monument as " son of Simon Leach the blacksmith."

Simon Leach, the elder, was a blacksmith at Crediton, who contrived to make a fortune in the middle of the 16th century. The story goes that he bought bars of iron from an Armada wreck which turned out to be bars of gold. Everything unexplained in Devon is attributed to the Spanish Armada, even the tortoiseshell cats !

His son, Sir Simon, acquired armorial bearings, with a field ermine, and not only are these displayed on the front of the house, but all the slates are cut into the shapes of heraldic ermine tails on which wreaths of slate-leaved laurels surround the coats of arms.

From Exe Island an archway passes under the Fore Street, to the aptly named Frog Street, and the site of the West Gate.

Here is the little church of St. Mary Steps, famous for its clock with Jacks that strike the hours. The figures are supposed to be Henry VIIIth and two javelin men ; locally they are called Matthew the miller and his sons. Matthew the miller owned Criklepit Mill and was so punctual in his habits that his neighbours could always tell the time by noting his doings. After his death they had to provide themselves with a clock, and :

> " Matthew the Miller's alive,
> Matthew the Miller is dead,
> But every hour, on West Gate Tower,
> Matthew nods his head."

Inside the church is one of the finest Norman fonts in Devon, and across the Chancel a 15th century rood screen, of the characteristic west country type, with figures of saints painted on the panels at the base. A door will be noted near the east end outside the building. This gives entrance to a room with a stone barrelled roof, once the chamber of the porter of the West Gate.

The gabled house close by at the foot of Stepcote Hill, still shewing some cusped wooden tracery of the 15th century, was the former rectory. There were strenuous doings here in 1549, when Exeter endured six weeks siege during the Prayer Book Rebellion.

Vainly did the rebels batter at the West Gate, and finally prepared a mine to blow it up. Their intentions were discovered from within, and a counter-mine prepared. John Blackaller, the Mayor, ordered the householders on Stepcote Hill to fill all their available vessels with water, and have them ready at their doors. Watch was kept over the enemies mine, and at a given signal every householder emptied his buckets. The water poured down the steep hill into the mine effectually drenching the gunpowder and fuses that were just ready for action.

Stepcote Hill was the Fore Street of medieval Exeter, rising steeply from the West Gate in shallow steps paved with cobble stones, a feature still retained in this, the most picturesque part of the city.

Up this steep ascent was taken the stone from the East Devon quarries used in building the Cathedral. It came by boat to the Water Gate, where it was unloaded into panniers, and sturdy pack horses carried the burden up the hill, to be deposited in the " domus pro marbell " where the materials for the fabric were stored.

CHAPTER III.

THE CATHEDRAL.

I—THE BUILDING AND THE BUILDERS.

TO know a cathedral requires the intimacy of a lifetime and a library of authorities. The rambler who travels light, and whose time is limited cannot expect to acquire more than a nodding acquaintance with a building that took three hundred years to erect, and is yet unfinished.

On the site where Exeter Cathedral stands Athelstan founded a monastery of S.S. Peter and Mary in the 10th century.

The " Bishopstool " (as the Saxons termed it) was then at Crediton, where from A.D. 909 to 1050 nine Bishops in succession administered the affairs of the diocese. In 1046 Leofric was appointed to the See, he was a Chaplain and friend of Edward the Confessor, English by birth but of foreign education. The small undefended town of Crediton had no attractions for him, and in 1050 he asked the Confessor to remove the See to Exeter.

Consent of Pope and King being obtained, the monks were sent to Edward's foundation at Westminster, and Leofric was enthroned

with magnificent ceremonial in the church belonging to the monastery. Edward and Editha came to Exeter, Leofric was led up the church in state, the king on his right hand and the queen on his left, the charter of the new foundation was laid on the high altar, and Leofric duly enthroned as first Bishop of Exeter.

Saxon bishops fared badly at the Conquest, but Leofric had probably met the Duke of Normandy abroad. He was left in peaceable possession of his See, and another Saxon, Osbern, succeeded him. These Saxon bishops contented themselves with the old monastic church, but the third bishop William Warelwast, nephew of the Conqueror, who was appointed in 1107, immediately began reconstructing his Cathedral. He erected the massive towers that are such special characteristics of the building. His intention regarding them has never been clearly ascertained ; if they were designed as towers flanking a west front, with a church of similar proportions eastward, the building would have been stupendous.

The work continued intermittently during the 12th century, the Norman church with an apsidal choir, short nave, and north porch being completed during the episcopate of Bishop Marshall (1194-1206).

Up to this time the cathedral body had consisted of a bishop and canons. In 1224 William Brewer was consecrated bishop. He went to

Palestine in 1228, and before leaving gave the Cathedral into the charge of a Dean and Chapter, a chapter house being built for their benefit.

Towards the end of the 13th century a complete reconstruction of the church was designed. Bishop Bronescombe (1257-1280) and his successor Peter Quivil (1280-1291) undertaking the extension of the choir eastwards, the erection of the Lady Chapel and side chapels, the alteration of the pillars, and the enlargement of the windows with new tracery.

The reconstruction of the Cathedral has been attributed to the genius of Peter Quivil, not without authority ; he is mentioned in a chronicle (tempo Ed. II) as " first founder of the new work." His obit records that he finished the greater part of the work at his own expense. It is equally clear that the alterations were begun in Bronescombe's time, for the earliest fabric roll begins before his death. He and Quivil may well have collaborated over the plans, for Quivil was an Exonian, son of Peter and Heloisa Quivil, wealthy citizens of Exeter, and he was a canon of the cathedral before being elected bishop.

It has, however, been justly observed that not even medieval bishops had leisure or ability to be their own architects. Bronescombe and Quivil would have had the opportunities of judging the style of work in other places. Doubtless they picked out the men they considered

EXETER CATHEDRAL: THE SOUTH TOWER.
(*By permission of Messrs. Eland Bros.*)

the most efficient for their purpose, plans and suggestions would have been submitted for their approval before being set in operation. It is convenient, especially in assigning dates to the various stages of the building, to use the names of successive bishops in connection with the structure, but this must not be taken to imply personal episcopal design for the work.

One of the finest aspects of the cathedral is from the north side, giving a view of the whole length of the building, broken about half way along by Warelwast's massive towers. This view is especially impressive at night, when the dark mass rises upwards under the beams of a full moon. If, at such a time, some late wanderer hears "Great Peter" bell sound midnight from the north tower, the solemnity and dignity of the scene cannot be forgotten.

The exterior of Bishop Marshall's north porch was decorated during the 15th century, with canopies and image niches. In these, of recent years have been placed statues representing the patron saints of the allies of the great war. St. George of England, St. Denys of France, St. Joseph of Belgium; below these are S.S. Cyril and Methodius, the brother Apostles of Eastern Europe, St. Vladimir of Russia, and St. Ambrose representing Italy. The figures were carved in the studio of Mr. H. Read of Exeter, and it is interesting to know

that when he examined the porch he came to the conclusion that no images had ever before occupied the niches. As in many other instances of medieval work, they had been prepared in the hope donors would be found to fill them, and that donor did not appear for nearly four hundred years. Above the niches are the windows of the porch room, formerly called the "dog whipper's chamber." At the end of the last century old residents of Exeter remembered "Charles the Dog-whipper," one of the Cathedral functionaries of their childhood. Though he had ceased to exercise that particular office the title remained.

The notable feature of the west front is the great image screen across the west wall. On it are tiers of niches containing figures of saints, kings and angels. Many are sadly weathered by centuries of buffetings from the wet west winds of Devon.

There are a few feeble restorations done in the 19th century. The composition was intended to represent the Heavenly Jerusalem, with the Church Triumphant, celebrating the coronation of the Virgin. She has been dethroned from her place above the central doorway, a royal figure having been later substituted for her statue. The work dates from between 1369-1394, and has been attributed to Grandisson's successor Bishop Brantyngham. But it was no new idea of Brantyngham's, being part of the original conception, the crowning glory of a great

achievement. This screen supports a platform, behind which is the great west window, and above, at the very summit is a niche in which is a figure of St. Peter, to whom the Cathedral is dedicated. This is said to be a likeness of Bishop Grandisson, whose episcopate (1327-1369) saw the completion of Bronescombe's work.

John de Grandisson was Exeter's greatest bishop, but it is inside the Cathedral that we must look for his share of the building. When the church was being finished he repaired a chapel that stood at the west front, dedicated to St. Radegunda, for his own burial place. Here he was interred, and here his obit was sung till reformation times, when the chapel was desecrated. The tiny place has long been dismantled, the iron grille that guards its window is discernible from outside. Near it is the mutilated statue of a saint, with a prostrate figure below its feet, possibly representing saint Radegunda, queen of Clothair of France, who died A.D. 587. She was notable for her kindness to prisoners, and is represented in art accompanied by a chained figure.

Before leaving the west front the sculptures near the doorways merit examination. On the south there is a delightful Nativity with the Adoration of the Shepherds. Round the central doorway is a carved wreath, a marvel of achievement in stone, and on the central boss of the roof a representation of the Crucifixion.

Upon the great west doors, Thomas Benet, a schoolmaster in 1531 affixed placards asserting that the Pope was Antichrist. His precipitancy in declaring his sentiments was unfortunate, for at that date Henry VIIIth had not quarrelled with the Pope. A few years later he might have said what he pleased. He was, however, condemned for heresy, and burnt at Livery Dole in Heavitree parish.

To see the interior of the cathedral to the best advantage, enter by the western doorway, and standing in the centre facing east look up at the roof. It is the most splendid part of the building, giving Exeter's cathedral its distinction among the Gothic Cathedrals of Europe. True the building is low; breadth and lowness are, says Mr. Francis Bond, its special characteristics.

But, without far more alteration than the builders contemplated, the stone vaultings could never have been supported on lofty columns. Another striking feature is, that owing to the absence of a central tower, the entire unbroken length of the roof extends from west to east, described as "the most open, uninterrupted, impressive vista of any cathedral in England."

The vaulting shafts spring from clustered columns set diamond-wise, so characteristic that the style has been called "the Exeter pillar." Columns and vaultings are all of Purbeck marble, its grey tones blending with

the buff tints of the local sandstone that lends itself so readily to the carvers chisel. As the tints harmonize so does the sculpture, the plain moulded capitals of the marble columns helping to emphasize the rich varied details of the bosses and corbels. Symmetry is another notable feature of the building. Warelwast's twin towers seem to have influenced all the design. The great windows filling the space between buttress and buttress are in pairs, each side of the aisles and clerestories exhibiting similar tracery. " Curvilinear " is the technical term, a dreadful word ! It suggests Pope's " wounded snake." Poetic thought has far more appropriately likened these lovely traceries to the lilies and roses that are on Bishop Quivil's shield. On a sunny day the rays stream in casting dappled lights from the glass, that sparkle with jewelled harmonies. Yet, after writing those words, we recall wintry afternoons, dimness stealing in, a few lights serving only to intensify the shadows, rendering arch and column mysterious distant and intensely impressive.

Throughout the whole place chapel responds to chapel, chantry to chantry, the one exception being St. Edmunds chapel on the north-west, regarded by some authorities as having been a separate building, incorporated when Grandisson completed his work in the nave.

This he lengthened by three bays, his figure

on the boss of the roof denoting the extent of his work. Beyond it another boss must be noted, one of the most remarkable carvings in the cathedral. It represents the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and on a small space are seven or eight figures grouped together.

Bartholomew Iscanus, Bishop from 1161 to 1184 was a friend of Becket. He even volunteered to go into exile with him, but the Archbishop thought he would serve his cause better by remaining at home. On the reconciliation of Canterbury Cathedral after the murder, the Bishop of Exeter was chosen to preach the sermon. It was he too who heard the confession of the murderer William de Tracy, himself a Devonshire man, and, so says tradition, told him to build four churches in Devon dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, as an expiation of the crime; a wily episcopal suggestion for the benefit of the diocese. It must have been in commemoration of these circumstances that Grandisson had the boss set over the final completion of his cathedral.

Looking at the bishop's figure on the roof, and the elaborate traceries of the windows near it, we may dwell for a moment on the anxiety he must have felt, whether his work would ever be accomplished. During its course the Black Death swept over the country, and for a while checked all effort. To be sure ten pounds were

contributed to the building funds from gifts and legacies " during the mortality " as the fabric rolls of 1348-49 record. But there were also payments for " wattle and daub," oziers and clay, to stop up the unglazed windows, and keep out bad weather, and some few years elapsed before the work was regularly resumed.

In 1351 it was completed, and Grandisson's Ordinale records that the feast of the dedication of the Blessed Peter of Exeter was observed on the 21st of November.

The chalice shaped white marble font was made in 1644 for the baptism of Henrietta Anne, youngest child of Charles the First. Though of graceful form and proportions it is of historic rather than artistic value. No record of an earlier font remains, though there must have been one.

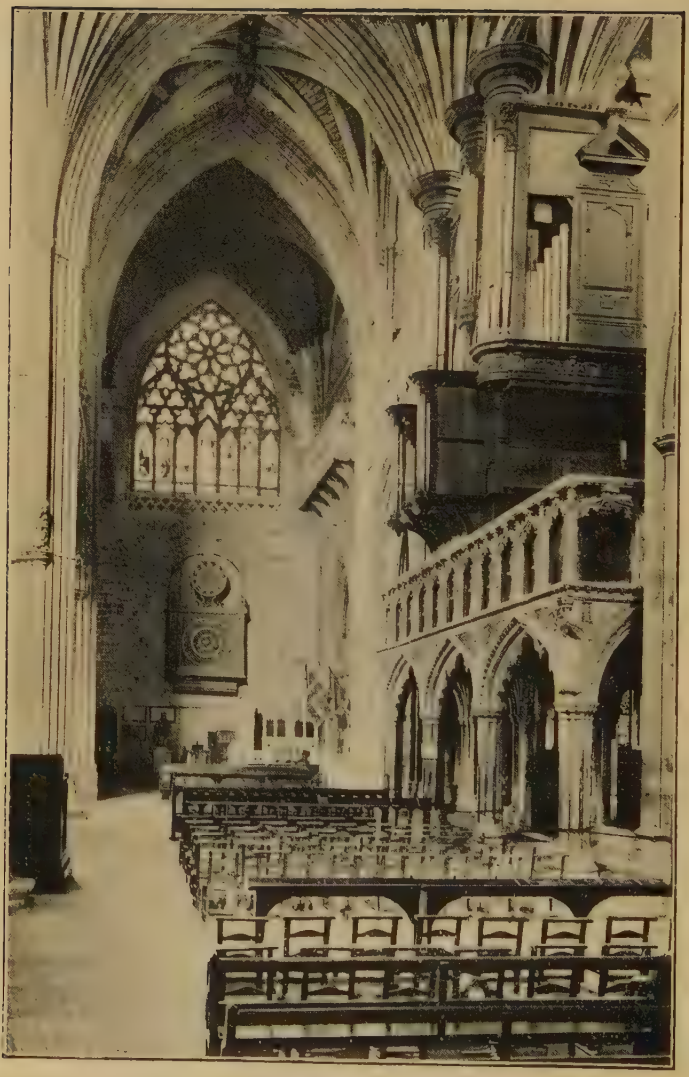
From the centre of the south nave aisle the best view is obtained of the Minstrels' Gallery, which crosses the central bay on the north side of the nave. Corbelled shafts with niches on them uphold it, the heads on the corbels are said to represent Edward the Third and Queen Phillipa. Along the front of the gallery angel figures carry musical instruments. The harp and trumpet are easily recognizable. How well the medieval builders understood the acoustic powers of their building, can be realised when, on festivals, the choristers ascend the narrow stairs, and sing

from the Minstrels' Gallery, the clear notes stealing across the church in perfect harmony.

The Martyrs pulpit in the nave commemorates Bishop Patteson, martyred in Melanesia in 1871. On the central panel are depicted the Christian natives bearing his body, wrapped in a palm mat, to a canoe. The two other panels represent the death of St. Alban, proto-martyr of England, and St. Boniface the apostle of Germany. He is Devon's greatest saint, born at Crediton A.D. 680, brought to Exeter for his education, later Archbishop of Maintz and primate of all Germany, martyred in Fresia A.D. 755.

A Norman doorway in the north transept gives access to the tower, and examination of the tower walls reveals many traces of Norman arches belonging to windows and doorways blocked up when the large 14th century windows were inserted.

St. Paul's Chapel is at the north east, and near it Sylkes chantry, built in 1508, with a grisly "memento mori" monument of Canon William Sylke, and the legend over it "*sum quod eris, fueram quod es, pro me precor ora.*" The mural painting at the back, represents the Resurrection, it shews very clearly on a bright morning. Within the chantry, as if further to impress the spectator with the brevity of human life, the original works of the clock move slowly from hour to hour. They are no longer actually connected with the clock but were reconstructed



NORTH TRANSEPT OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.
(Kindly lent by the Homeland Association).

by Mr. J. Hall, an enthusiastic Exeter horologist. One massive wheel is said to have been working some six hundred years.

The "*horologium qui vocatur clokke*" finds mention in the fabric roll of 1376; besides the hour it tells the day of the month and phases of the moon. The minute dial above it, is a more recent concession to the demands of an exacting generation. The legend "*Pereunt et imputantur*" refers to the hours "that perish and are placed to our account."

The mace stand on the west wall is used when the Mayor attends the Cathedral in state. Near it is the bell rope by which every evening the Curfew is rung on Great Peter bell, the second largest bell in England, which occupies the top of the tower in solitary state. The disputes of the learned over Great Peter's origin need not trouble the tourist, who will be content to know that the bell still bears the record:

Ex dono Petri Courtenay Episcopi Exon An Dom 1484.

The choir screen was the work of Bishop Stapeldon's time (1308-1326), its ornate richness deserves more attention than it usually receives. It is one of the special charms of the cathedral that this screen is open, so that a vista is afforded from the nave up to the high altar, with a glimpse of the arch of the Lady Chapel beyond it.

The choir was carried out by Quivil's successor, Thomas Bytton (1292-1307) and completed by Stapeldon. The intention was not only to extend it eastwards, but to make it broader, and this had to be done inside the church, without disturbing the north and south walls where the chapels of St. James and St. Andrew were already erected. The builders preferred adapting themselves to circumstances, rather than destroy these features. They did their work with marvellous ingenuity. Looking up at the triforium, it will be noted that westwards from the Bishop's throne the arcade has deep recesses. From the throne eastward it is merely a shallow decoration, so entirely in the same style, that the difference is unperceived until attention is directed to it. This solution of the difficulty may have been evolved by Master William de Schoverville, Master Mason of Salisbury, who in 1311 was paid 20/- to come and inspect the new work.

Here we may pause to recall the names, not of the Bishop patrons who desired to possess a magnificent cathedral, but of the actual artists who designed and carried out the plan. For these Master Masons, though given no higher title, were the Architects as well as the supervisors of the work.

Master Roger was thus recorded in 1299. Between this date and 1376, when Robert Lesyngham was "Master of the works" we

meet with William Canon of Corfe, who with his son supplied the Purbeck marble for the pillars. To William of Montacute, in Somerset, we owe the sculptures on the bosses and corbels, but the wood carvers, William of Membury, and Robert of Galmpton were men of Devon. Master John, the goldsmith wrought the silver altar, Bishop Stapeldon's gift. Possibly he made it in that part of Exeter known as "aurifabria," where the little church of "*Omnium sanctorum in Aurifabria*" stood till the beginning of this century, for Exeter was long famous for metal work.

Hidden in the crabbed Latin of the fabric rolls, these craftsmen have only been discovered by painstaking antiquarians in recent years, while the names of continental builders have echoed down the centuries.

Devon may well be proud of such carvers as William of Membury and Robert of Galmpton, when we look at their work, the Bishop's throne. Up to the roof it soars a towering marvel of woodwork, with canopy pinnacle and poppy-head, and never a nail in it, but all put together with wooden pegs. On the cusps angel figures carry the bell, book, and candle, for the bishop's curse, and the chalice and Host of his blessing. This splendid piece of work was preserved in Puritan times by the effort of Treasurer Hall, who took it down and buried it. After the king's restoration it was brought to light and

reinstated in its dignities. Cosimo de Medici noted it, and thought from the carved symbols that it was intended for a magnificent pyx cover. He was mistaken as we know from the fabric rolls, where the whole account for making the "cathedra" for the bishop is recorded. In the 17th century it was painted white for he mentions it as "a large marble tabernacle."

The modern choir stalls are part of Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration, but they incorporate the old misericords, the oldest in England, dating from the 13th century, and made before the commencement of the fabric rolls. Among their varied designs may be seen an elephant, very remarkable as having hoofs, a king in a swan boat, reminiscent of Lohengrin, and a mermaid, surely seen by Bishop Brewer in his travels, for these carvings belong to his time. The sedilia were completed when Stapeldon was completing and enriching his choir. They can only be compared with lace work in stone. Three openwork pinnacles rise above the vaulted canopies. The brass shafts are said to be original, thus silencing captious critics, who ask why they are not stone. The lions that form the arms of the seat may be still earlier, and tradition asserts that in the centre is the very stone on which Leofric was enthroned. Three little heads of a king, queen, and bishop at the back of the sculpture represent the Confessor. Editha, and Leofric.

Master Walter le Verrour was engaged in glazing the windows in the 14th century, but the great east window was the work of an Exeter artist in 1389. In that year Canon Henry de Blakeborn offered to give the cathedral a new east window, the stone work of the old one being dilapidated. The chapter appointed Robert Lyen of Exeter to carry out the work. He not only supplied the stained glass, but renovated the tracery in the new style, that we now call Perpendicular. Since those days there have been restorations, but much of the glass, and many of the figures are Lyen's work. He did not, however, do one of the most interesting, the saint in a black robe on the extreme left of the second row of lights. She carries a scythe, for this is St. Sidwell, Exeter's local saint who has a church and a well dedicated to her, and gives her name to one of the " fees " of the city.

The alabaster pulpit, and the reredos need not delay us, they are good but modern. Some may remember the " reredos case " fought, and won, by Bishop Temple, over the erection of these harmless statues in the cathedral.

Re-entering the south choir aisle and turning eastwards, the columns of the ambulatory give the first beginnings of the Exeter pillar, more massive and clumsy than the final clustered shafts. South and north are the chantries of Oldham and Speke, and on the south east is

the chapel of St. Gabriel, Bronescombe's commencement of the new work, dedicated to his patron saint, his tomb forming a screen between the Lady Chapel, and that of St. Gabriel. The corresponding chapel, on the north, with the tomb of Bishop Stafford, is dedicated either to St. Mary Magdalene, or St. John the Evangelist. Between these chapels is the Lady Chapel, with a great stone slab on the floor, incised with an ornate cross, and inscribed :

Petrus Tegit Petrum Nihil Officiat Sibi Tetrum.

" A stone covers Peter, let no one injure it."

This is Bishop Quivil's tomb, and the stone we feel sure is the glorious building, raised over him, by his own efforts and instigation.

The craftsmen were west countrymen, the bishop builders themselves Devonians, Bronescombe from East Devon, Quivil an Exeter man, Stapeldon from Annerly near Bideford.

It was of a building of purely English workmanship, and especially of West-country workmanship, of which Grandisson wrote to his friend, Pope John XXII, that it was marvellous in beauty, and when completed would surpass every Gothic church in England or France.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CATHEDRAL.

2—MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS; THE CHAPTER HOUSE AND LIBRARY

THE monuments in the cathedral are less important than the fabric, and principally of local interest only.

The number of War memorials is remarkable in so small a place, they indicate the fighting instincts of the west countryman, for they record the achievements of the Devon Regiments in the Crimea and Mutiny (this by Baron Marochetti) the Afghan, and South African wars, with tattered banners that bear the names of famous battles of bygone days. Latest, and most striking is that which commemorates the Devons who fell in the Great War, the really magnificent conception by A. Stephenson, of the Tommy with his modern accoutrements, "looking just as we were" as some man, on whose breast is a long bar of ribbons, will say to the child he holds by the hand, whose gaze is set on the silken flags representing those banners which were not carried into the field of battle.

Inferior glass by Peckitt formerly filled the great west window. It was removed after the death of Archbishop Temple, and the glass renewed in 1904, to his memory; figures of Exeter's most notable bishops being placed in the lower lights.

Literature is represented by a tablet, and small window commemorating R. D. Blackmore, author of "Lorna Doone"; art, by Chantry's statue of Northcote the painter in the north transept. Here is the "Women's window" where the notable women of Scripture appear, erected by the women of Devon. The corresponding window in the south transept is in memory of Lord Justice Coleridge, shewing the great law-givers, including King Alfred, and Sir Matthew Hale.

Originally two altars occupied the arches inside the choir screen; that of St. Nicholas, south, the north St. Mary, commonly known as "Bratton's altar" founded by Henry de Bratton or Bracton, the famous jurist, writer of "The laws and customs of England," in the 13th century, a work that survives as legal authority to the present day. A stone recording this notable ecclesiastic and lawyer has been laid on the spot described in 1279, as the place "where the body of Sir Henry de Bratton is buried."

In the south nave aisle a tablet records "John Macdonald, died 1831, son of Alan and Flora Macdonald." Did she tell him in childhood tales of Bonnie Prince Charlie? Did he ever recall them when conversing with friends in Exeter? There is no record to relate how he came to settle here, but the contemporary diary, previously quoted, describes the funeral: "of Colonel Macdonald, son of the famous Flora. The guests were given satin hat bands, scarves, and gloves, coaches and four took them to the cathedral; his son-in-law's carriage with four spirited grey horses added to the splendour of the funeral, which was a very expensive one, and attracted a far greater crowd than had ever been seen in the streets."

Some recesses filled with bits of old sculpture appear on the south east wall of the transept. Tradition assigns the site to the tomb of Leofric; and Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter, erected a memorial here in 1568, which has been long since removed.

The chapel of St. John the Baptist corresponds with the northern chapel of St. Paul. Below the ropes of the carillon is the unnamed tomb of "Bishop John the Chanter" (1186-1191) so called because he was Precentor before being consecrated bishop. His voice perhaps yet mingles in the tones of the twelve bells, as they sound from the tower overhead.

The 16th century tomb, close by, is that of Sir John Gilbert, brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and half brother of Sir Walter Raleghe, a memorial that links the cathedral with the Elizabethan heroes of Devon, whose bones are scattered across the Empire they helped to make.

Chantries formerly stood where now are the choir stalls in the nave. On the north Bishop Brantyngham's, the south that of the Courtenays Earls of Devon. Being ruinous they were removed ; the great tomb of Sir Hugh Courtenay and Margaret de Bohun his wife, is a reconstruction of the older one. Under monumental arches in the south choir aisle are two crossed legged effigies, one of a member of the de Bohun family, the other that of Sir Henry Raleghe, whose interment caused such a dispute between the Dominican Friars, and the Chapter in the 14th century. The chapel opposite these figures is that of St. James. In the aisle, under the matting is the brass of Sir Peter Courtenay, son of the second Earl. He was standard bearer to Edward III, Governor of Calais, one of the first knights of the Garter, and later Constable of Windsor Castle, and to him was entrusted the care of Isabella de Valois, the child Queen of Richard the Second.

Visitors from Canada take a special interest in the memorial to General John Graves Simcoe,

founder of Toronto, sculptured by Flaxman. On retiring from active work he purchased an estate near Honiton, where he was buried in his own private chapel in 1806.

St. Saviour's chantry is the burial place of Hugh Oldham, the last of the splendid bishops of Exeter (1504-1519). Among the carvings on the exterior may be seen St. Ursula with the eleven thousand virgins nestling under her cloak. The owls from his coat of arms are yet more conspicuous, decorating the whole of the interior of the chantry. In one corner an Owl with a label inscribed DAMUS gives his rebus "OLDAMUS." The once splendid reredos has been almost hacked to pieces; it represented the Annunciation, Nativity, and St. Gregory's Mass. A sepulchral arch contains the bishop's effigy, gorgeously painted. He was a north country man and founded the Manchester Grammar School in his native town, of which one of the rules was that the boys were to speak Latin in the play-ground; a rule which we fear has long been scrapped. He also hated monks, and is said to have died excommunicate, owing to a quarrel with the Abbot of Tavistock, in which the Pope took the part of the Abbot. But Hugh Oldham was also a far-seeing man, and previsedthe dissolution of the monasteries. When his friend Bishop Fox of Winchester, who had also for a short time been Bishop of Exeter,

proposed to endow a new monastic foundation, Oldham persuaded him to give his patronage to education, and between them they founded Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which sends a wreath for Oldham's tomb every year on founder's day.

On either side of the Lady Chapel the tombs of Bishop Bronescombe and Bishop Stafford form monumental screens, and are typical of the passion for symmetry displayed at all periods in the cathedral. Bronescombe died in 1280, Stafford in 1419, at which latter date the monumental screen was a prevailing fashion. In order to balance these screens the effigy of Bronescombe, which is earlier work, has been set on a high tomb under an enriched canopy, similar to that of his 15th century successor.

Armorial bearings in old glass appear in the south window of St. Gabriel's chapel; several of them are connected with Grandisson's family. The "three fusils" of the Montacutes record Katherine Grandisson, the bishop's sister, who married William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury and whose lost garter led to the foundation of one of the noblest orders of knighthood in the world.

Two Bible boxes are secured on either side of the entrance to the Lady Chapel, with holes through which passed the chains that fastened the books. These Bible boxes remind us that

Bishop Myles Coverdale (1551-1553) was one of the early translators of the Bible. It is popularly asserted that "Bishop Myles Coverdale of Exeter wrote the Bible while residing at the old palace at Paignton." In reality his revision of Tyndals Bible was made when he was a refugee in Holland, and it was on account of this work that he gained preferment. He was a good scholar and an ardent reformer, but, apparently not a success as a bishop. Queen Mary deprived him; Elizabeth, on her accession offered to restore him to his See. Hooker the Chamberlain of Exeter, a great admirer of Coverdale, personally advised him not to accept the offer; he was then appointed rector of St. Magnus, London Bridge, where for many years he had considerable reputation as a preacher.

Peter Quivil's tomb in the Lady Chapel has already been mentioned; the effigies of two other bishops are in this chapel. One is a curiously archaic figure, almost Byzantine in style, and may be Leofric himself. The other, attributed to Simon d' Apulia (1214-1223) is a dignified sculpture. For many years the chapel served as the cathedral library, and these monuments were concealed by the bookshelves. Their discovery when the books were removed caused quite a sensation, no one remembering their existence, and nothing remained to help their actual identification.

Great is the contrast between these medieval effigies and the figures of Sir John and Lady Dodderidge opposite to them. He was a judge in the time of James the First, of such great reputation that it was said when he died :

" Learning farewell for Dodderidge is gone."

The design of naturalistic flowers on the lady's costume should attract the attention of all needlewomen. Her collar and cuffs are of Devonshire " bone lace," made when fish bones served as pins to hold the threads.

The great Carew tomb in the next chapel is planned like berths in a ship, upper and lower. Sir Gawen Carew and his wife rest on the upper tier, his nephew Sir Peter lies below. The more famous Sir Peter, Gawen's brother, has a memorial in the south transept.

Both were notable for the part they took in suppressing the Prayer Book Rebellion in 1549. Old glass is preserved in the east window of this chapel, where a small figure with a label appears, possibly another representation of Canon William Langton, a kinsman of Bishop Stafford, whose beautiful little brass is on the floor.

St. George's Chapel, the Speke chantry, where lies the effigy of Sir John Speke, rivals, with the " porc-epigs " of the knight's arms, the owls of Oldham. A niche on the exterior contains an image of St. Anne with the Blessed Virgin. The arms of the old family of Speke

are also repeated here with the augmentation of a chief and the word NILE. This augmentation of honour was granted to William Speke, Esq., in 1867, because his son Captain John Hanning Speke " was by a deplorable accident suddenly deprived of his life before he had received any mark of our Royal favour," after his discovery of the sources of the Nile.

The low broad window seems happily adapted for the picture of Christus Consolator, by Ary Schaeffer, executed in stained glass.

All trace of the altar is lost. In 1657 the cathedral was divided by what Bishop Seth Ward (1662-1667) who pulled it down, called a " monstrous Babylonish wall " into East Peters, and West Peters, in which the Independents, and Presbyterians conducted their several services. The entrance into East Peters was made through the Speke chapel, and the door remained until 1877.

Bishop Stapeldon's tomb occupies the founders place on the north side of the choir. Studying it from the aisle it is possible to see the figure of Christ standing on an orb painted above the recumbent figure of the bishop. A statesman, as well as an ecclesiastic, Bishop Stapeldon was Treasurer to Edward II, and to him was entrusted the responsibility of visiting the Court of Flanders to choose one of the Count's three daughters as a wife for the young Prince Edward.

The account of his visit, and his choice of Phillipa from among the three little girls is given in his Register, and very quaint reading it is. In 1324 Edward fled before Queen Isabella and Mortimer, leaving London in charge of the bishop. But the citizens would not submit to him, he was mobbed in Cheapside, unhorsed and murdered, his body being thrown on a heap of rubbish. It was subsequently recovered and brought to Exeter for burial.

Opposite to Stapeldon's tomb, in the aisle, is a monument on which is sculptured a man holding a horse. It is said to be the tomb of Sir Richard Stapeldon, the bishop's brother, killed in the same riot, when a cripple seized his horse and threw him down, while the knight was escaping by one of the gates from London : " whereby it is called Cripple Gate to this day." Actually Sir Richard survived the bishop many years.

There is a great diversity in the tombs on the south side of the choir, and north side of the aisle. Here lies Bishop Bradbridge (1570-1578), who died deeply in debt to Queen Elizabeth. Here the saintly Lacy (1420-1455), who might have been canonized but for the Reformation. Bishop Marshall's tomb, with its beautiful but formal Early English decoration is again in the founder's place, for this was the extent of the older choir.

A high tomb in the aisle displays that blending of Gothic and Renaissance ornament frequently found in Devon ; it is the monument of Anthony Harvey, steward to several monasteries, who, knowing the exact values of their properties, largely enriched himself after their dissolution. Further down is another grim " memento mori," then the chapel of St. Andrew breaks the line of the wall.

Bishop Valentine Cary (1621-1626) is chiefly notable for a commendable desire for fresh air. He asked permission to make a doorway through the city wall that bounded the Palace garden, in order to refresh himself in the fields of Southernhay. The Mayor refused ; Mayors of Exeter were always very jealous of any interference with the city wall. Bishop Cary appealed to King James the First, and got his own way. The letter to the Mayor is yet extant, in which the king begs that the bishop might have his doorway, and the doorway still exists in the wall of the palace garden.

Lastly comes a disregarded memorial, which Exonians should look upon with special pride. It is that of Treasurer Hall, who saved the bishop's throne from destruction, and who remains Treasurer for all time, his epitaph concluding :

" Vivus Thesaurarius
Mortuus Thesaurarius
Vivus, mortus, Residentarius."

From the south transept a doorway leads to the Chapter House, the lower part of which displays Early English characteristics of the 13th century. In 1412 this had become so dilapidated that complete repair was necessary; new walls were raised above the old arcading, and the fine timber roof added. As the arms of Bishop Boothe (1465-1478) occur in the decoration, it was probably completed in his episcopate. Armorial bearings of ancient glass have of recent years been set in the east window. Students of Heraldry may be surprised to find among them the Austrian eagle quartering the "*lion rampant queue fourché*" of Bohemia. This represents one of Exeter's proudest honours; Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, and lord of Rougemont Castle, was elected king of the Romans in 1256, "a very real Earl if a shadowy Caesar," says Freeman. His arms with a lion rampant bordered bezanté, are on some of the tiles in the side chapels. Thus does the cathedral enshrine all the history of Exeter.

The cloisters were completely wrecked by Fairfax's Roundheads. In the 19th century the bequest of books from two learned Canons was made the opportunity of rebuilding one side and erecting a new library over it. Here are two books of incomparable value, the Exeter Domesday Book, and Leofric's Book, the Liber Exoniensis,

a collection of Anglo-Saxon literature of which the writing is as clear and fresh to-day, as when the scribes compiled it for the first Bishop of Exeter. It contains Cynewulfs Christus, a poetic life of Christ by Cynewulf, who was probably a pupil of Caedmon. There are lives of saints, and, curiously enough, jokes and riddles, shewing that our Bishop appreciated humour as well as learning. The value with which he regarded the book is proved by the manumission of serfs being recorded in it, entries always inscribed where they were certain to be preserved.

The Exeter Domesday is the local volume of the great survey, far more detailed than the Exchequer copy, in which the scribes had perforce to curtail the extensive reports of the manor holders.

Here there is also the actual charter laid on the altar when Leofric was enthroned, with the signatures of the Confessor, Godwin, and other historical names. Beside each of these there is a dot, like a full stop, and it is said that as most of these notables could not write, they affirmed the charter, by placing a finger on the dot, and declaring aloud that they witnessed the charter.

There are also many beautiful illuminated manuscripts, but not as many as should be. When Sir Thomas Bodley founded the Bodleian

Library in 1602, the then Dean and Chapter elated by this great work of a citizen of Exeter, presented many important manuscripts to Oxford. The unique character of Leofric's book was then unknown, so it remained behind to give our Cathedral Library the glory of possessing one of the most valuable books in the world.

Those who have been to Florence know that :

> " In Santa Croce's holy precincts lie
> Ashes that make it holier, dust that is
> Ev'n in itself an immortality."

Among those monuments one records John Catrik, ambassador in Italy for Henry Vth, when appointed Bishop of Exeter. He died in Florence Dec. 28th, 1419, before he could reach his Diocese.

His memorial, one of those fine sculptured alabaster figures for which Florentine art is noted, lies on the floor in the centre of the nave.

A small model of it in the Cathedral Library reminds us that among the tombs of those whose fame is world wide, one commemorates a Bishop of Exeter.

CHAPTER V.

THE CLOSE.

A STRETCH of smooth green sward, the characteristic setting of every English Cathedral, is overlooked by a line of old houses, independent residences, displaying two periods of building. The older parts were modestly withdrawn from proximity to the Cathedral; in the 17th century frontage was added encroaching on the space.

The precincts were considered as a place apart. Martin's Gate, Broad Gate, Palace Gate, retain the names of lost barriers that conserved the privacy of the Close. On the north east the city wall divided it from the Croll-ditch; here a barrier, though only an iron railing asserts the prerogative of the Chapter; the wall has been cut, to make a way into Southernhay. Bishop Valentine Cary, as we know, asked for a doorway in his garden, without which he could not reach the open fields except by going through Palace Gate, and the South Gate. A light iron bridge crosses this opening of the wall, erected by Burnet Patch, Mayor in 1814. It helps to make a continuous path along the top of the wall, at the end of the gardens of the Canon's residences, and the Bishop's Palace. The bastion in the

Palace gardens contains the remains of a chamber and stone steps, popularly called the Lollards Prison, where, if Lollards were incarcerated they must have been extremely uncomfortable. From this point the wall runs more or less continuously to the river.

Southernhay was the scene of the only martyrdom that took place in Exeter during the Marian persecutions. In 1557 Agnes Prest suffered for heresy. Before her death she was visited by Katharine Champernowne, successively the wife of Otho Gilbert, and Walter Raleghe, mother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his brothers, and of Sir Walter Raleghe. She has been fitly named "a mother of men," and in no instance was her character more nobly exhibited than in the support she gave the unfortunate Agnes Prest, with whose opinions she wholly agreed, and whose fate she might have shared.

Confining our present rambles to the Close, the first house standing back inside the railings, now called the Abbots Lodge, was originally the town house of the Abbots of Buckfast. The present features are Elizabethan, and over the gabled porch is a portrait of Queen Bess, and the arms of the families who had the property after the dissolution of the monasteries. The reconstruction of the house was carried out by the Rolles, and the wrought iron gate that may be observed in the courtyard of the next building

has J. R. in monogram upon it, for John Rolle, this was the gate house of the mansion. Here in 1669 Cosimo de Medici was entertained by Sir John Rolle "at his house in the Close." During the Duke's visit to Exeter, Sir John Rolle is described in the memoirs of his journey as "one of the richest men in the county." He and his sons John and Dennis were in constant attendance on the Duke while he was in the city. The visit to the house was a compliment paid to Lady Rolle, who received the Duke accompanied by her three daughters.

The most attractive of these residences, undoubtedly the most charming domestic building in Exeter, is that now called the Gate House. It might have been named the Old Archdeaconry. Documents exist shewing that it was known as Peter's House. A small quadrangle is entered through an archway, over which are the arms of Bishop Cotton (1598-1621), whose sons William and Edward were successively Archdeacons of Totnes between 1619, 1647. This arch is closed by a very fine panelled door, with a postern in the centre, to admit or dismiss a guest after the fastening of the portal. Above the passage on the inside are the arms of William Hellyar, Archdeacon of Barnstaple in 1605. The opposite side of the quadrangle is a century older, and has the arms of Bishop Oldham upon it.

He was Archdeacon of Exeter in 1493, and in 1505 a Bernard Oldham, doubtless a kinsman, was Archdeacon of Cornwall. Inside the house carries its own records still farther back, for on the ceiling of the room, said to have been a refectory, are the arms of Bishop Lacy. Peter's House belonged to the Archdeacons of Totnes, or of Barnstaple, before the reformation, and they still used it as a residence when the marriage of the clergy, and the necessities of family life, demanded more accommodation than the medieval priest required.

The next archway of importance is the entrance to the Chancellerie, with the arms of the Chancellor of the Cathedral in the spandrils of the arch, the Law Library inside has a very fine roof.

Canon William Browning in 1441 possessed the house now used as the library of the Devon and Exeter Institution. Save for his name on a document the Canon has left no record behind him.

In 1634 the house was the residence of Thomas Shapcote, a well known lawyer of his day, whose name occurs in connection with sundry local business matters. He doubtless was at that period a person of far more importance than the friend who has immortalized him ; Master Robert Herrick, the discontented Vicar of an out-of-the-way village called Dean Prior. Herrick and Thomas Shapcote may have met as young men in London, when

Shapcote was studying at the Inns of Court, not so hard but that he might have joined Herrick :

" At those Lyric Feasts
Made at the Sun
The Dog, the Triple Tun."

In a verse addressed to him, Herrick calls him " his peculiar friend Master Thomas Shapcote Lawyer," and says :

" I've paid thee what I promised, that's not all,
Besides I give thee here a verse that shall
(When hence thy Circum-mortell part is gon)
Arch like hold up thy name's Inscription."

It is surprising to find that the truly immortal verses the poet dedicated to his friend, are those charming rhymes Oberon's Feast, and Oberon's Palace. Did these two discuss Queen Mab, Oberon, Titania, and Master Will Shakespear's Midsummer Nights Dream, under the trees in the garden which at that date would have been behind the house ? Herrick asserted :

" Shapcote to thee the Fairy state
I with discretion dedicate,
Because thou prizest things that are
Curious and unfamiliar."

Exeter occurs with sufficient frequency in Herrick's verses for us to conclude that he often took refuge with Thomas Shapcote from the boredom of Dean Prior. He addresses verses to Bishop Hall his " learn'd Diocesan " ; to Lady Mary Villers the " dainty governesse " left in charge of Princess Henrietta Anne. The

" drooping west " was to be the scene of triumph when King Charles came with his army; or renovated by the appearance of Charles Prince of Wales in Exeter. Nor was Herrick without reputation in Exeter. When the Rev. John Walker, rector of St. Mary Major, published his " Sufferings of the Clergy during the Civil War," in 1714, forty years after Herrick's death in 1674, he described the Vicar of Dean Prior, not as a poet, but as a " very learned man."

In 1662 Sir William Courtenay of Powderham secured Thomas Shapcote's mansion in the Close as a town residence, after which it was called Courtenay House. There is still preserved in it a fine mantelpiece displaying the Courtenay arms.

At the north-west corner of the Close a group of gabled houses adjoins the little church of St. Martin. All this was formerly ecclesiastical property, when Exeter souls were so well cared for at the expense of their relations, that the word " Exonian " must have sufficed their patron St. Peter as a passport for Paradise.

Towards the end of the 16th century " sundry houses " were erected on the site, the most conspicuous bearing the date 1596 and the arms of Queen Elizabeth. The windows of the " Armada Room," glazed with innumerable little panes of glass, are said to be designed after the fashion of a galleon's cabin, so that the

gallant Elizabethan captains might imagine themselves aboard ship, while recalling their adventures over flagons of sack.

The arms of these worthies form a frieze above the panels that line the walls. In the next century the place was a Coffee house. Nothing is known of the reputed proprietor Mol, who, in spite of his name, is said to have been an Italian. The name Mol's Coffee House survives to the present day.

Here may be obtained the massive key of St. Martin's Church, which was dedicated July 6th, 1065, a date that leads to the inference that the ceremony was performed by Leofric himself. Of the ancient building nothing remains, the present church being mainly of the 15th century ; the arms of Bishop Lacy in old stained glass, denoting renovations during his episcopate. There is a chancel arch with a cusped image niche upon it. The most interesting feature is the octagonal font of Purbeck marble, dating from the 14th century. On the shaft is a projection, partly cut away, which was formerly a small basin intended to wash the chrism oil from the infant's head before baptism. It has a drain connected with the actual drain of the font. The chancel retains its 18th century fittings, the rails enclosing three sides of the communion table, with benches north and south, to which intending communicants would " draw nigh " when the invitation was read.

After leaving the church it is worth while to diverge into the narrow street beside it, formerly called Pater-noster Lane. The wide archway at the Country House Inn was the entrance to the Annivellers College, and anciently the exit towards the Dominican Friary was closed by St. Katherine's gate. At the corner stands one of those delightful little places that are hidden away among the byways of Exeter; St. Katherine's Almshouses, now the Church Army Labour Home.

By his will, proved 1460, John Stevens, canon of Exeter, founded an almshouse here for thirteen poor persons. In the chapel in 1516, Thomas Bishop of Solubria, suffragan to Bishop Oldham held a "considerable ordination." Either the chapel was larger or the term exaggerated, for it is a tiny place, built of the warm red stone of Devon, and retaining both stoup and piscina.

It was once divided into two rooms, the line of the upper flooring still shewing on the walls. This was altered in 1894, when the chapel was restored and handed over to the Church Army.

The Royal Clarence Hotel, founded in 1770, was known for many years as "the Hotel." It is said to have been the first English Inn to assume the French cognomen. In its early days it was known as "the hotel in the churchyard." On July 13, 1827, the Duchess of

Clarence, afterwards Queen Adelaide, stayed there on her way to join the Duke at Plymouth, and graciously permitted the hotel to assume her name.

Samuel Foote, father of Maria Foote the actress, afterwards Countess of Harrington, was landlord in 1818.

Nearly opposite the hotel doors is a modern statue of the Judicious Hooker. Isaacke Walton tells us that " Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree near or within the precincts of the city of Exeter, about 1553, of parents not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtues and industry." His uncle was John Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter, and the city contributed towards the expense of the young Richard's education.

The Deanery, below the cloisters, can be recognized by the arms of the Dean, a Stag's head, over the doorway. The house retains ancient features, and some good mantelpieces. Beyond we reach the gate house leading to the Bishop's Palace and garden. In pre-reformation times the palace was a vast mansion, suiting the requirements of the large household belonging to one of the wealthiest Dioceses in England. The Elizabethan Bishops, stripped of their revenues, found the place too large, and pulled down a good deal of it. The Puritans, who turned it into a sugar factory, assisted still

further in its demolition. The house was much restored by Bishop Phillpotts (1831-1868) the beautiful oriel window in the library, taken from an old house in the city, was then presented to him. In the hall is the Courtenay mantelpiece displaying the arms of Bishop Peter Courtenay (1478-1486) and portraits of some of the later bishops are on the walls.

The Bishop's private chapel is the oldest part of the Palace, dating from the 13th century. "The chapel of St. Mary in the Bishop's house" was founded as a chantry where masses were sung for the repose of the souls of past bishops, and also served for the devotions of the resident bishop and his household.

Ordinations were frequently held there, Myles Coverdale and his successor Turberville, both held ordinations in their private chapel. One marriage, that of a son of Bishop Weston in 1734, was solemnized by the Bishop himself. In 1776, Mr. William Temple, the friend of Boswell and Johnson was ordained deacon in the Palace chapel; he was rector of Mamhead, and grandfather of Archbishop Temple.

The survey of the precincts may be concluded by passing the county war memorial, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, and finding the way to the hall of the Vicars Choral in South Street. Over the doorway are the arms of Bishop Oldham. In 1388 a regulation was enforced that the Vicars

Choral were not to frequent the houses of the laity, but to dine together " in the common hall lately constructed for them." It has been suggested that this hall, and the residences set apart for the Vicars were far from comfortable, lacking many of the necessities of ordinary life.

This may have eventually induced John Ryse, Treasurer of the Cathedral (1518-1531) to add a fire-place to the hall, the mantelpiece carved with the arms of five bishops who were special patrons of the Vicars. These begin with the lion rampant of Marshall, who endowed the College with the manor of Woodbury. Grandisson's arms follow, then the Catherine wheels of Brantyngham during whose episcopate the hall was first built. The last two are the arms of Lacy, and Oldham. In the spandrils of the arch the Gothic " T " may stand for " treasurer," and a modest J. R. in small letters for John Ryse. At the north end of the room is a gallery, on the front of which are panel portraits of bishops, work of the 16th century, with the exception of that of Archbishop Temple, painted by A. Moulton Foweraker to fill a vacant space. The room is panelled with linen fold moulding, and decoration of Renaissance character, dated 1629. To the same period belongs the handsome furniture, the table with its bulbous legs, and the carved chairs, which contribute so greatly to the appearance of the room.

Enquiries are frequently made why the "bran-new" church of St. Mary Major was built so near the Cathedral. The explanation is that this building unfortunately replaces a church that was very far from new. St. Mary's church stood on this site before Grandisson's westward extension of the nave brought the cathedral closer to the church. The modern builders in their turn set the church back eastward, disregarding the proximity of the Cathedral.

In this church the courts of the Archdeaconry of Exeter were held "from time immemorial." The first Archdeacon whose name is known was Odo, who died 1083. The ancient tower, of which illustrations are extant, was so massive that it dominated the city like a fortress. Upon this tower a noisy weathercock made history in 1501. Katherine of Arragon then landed at Dartmouth, and on her way to London for her marriage with Prince Arthur stayed at Exeter in the Deanery. The weather was "verie fowle wyndie and full of stormes" and the weather cock creaked so dismally that the princess could not sleep. A man, not without risk, climbed the steeple and took it down. A foreseeing weathercock this, groaning in anticipation of the havoc that should be wrought upon the church, through the coming of this princess to England.

In St. Mary Major's Church were buried the father and mother of Sir Walter Raleghe. Their names are in the parish register. Here he desired to be buried " in Exeter church near my father and mother." His widow was unable to carry out the request, and he who was one of Devon's greatest men, lies in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

At the end of the 18th century other Royal visitors were entertained in the Deanery. In 1789 George III with Queen Charlotte and some of the princesses made a state progress in the west. Peter Pindar informs us that they stayed at the Deanery :

" Because the bishop sent mun word
A could not eat and drink afford
A had not got the means."

William Buller, then Dean, took the Royal family over the cathedral, and heard the king's comment :

" Neat, neat, clean, very clean
Yes, very clean and neat ;
D'ye mop it, mop it, Mr. Dean
Mop, mop it, every week ? "

Preferment followed the Dean's hospitality ; he was given the Deanery of Canterbury, and, on the death of Bishop Ross, appointed Bishop of Exeter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GUILDHALL.

AT the Guildhall we are in the very heart and centre of Exeter, for it represents that municipal life which made Freeman declare that the oldest thing in the city was the city itself.

Before entering we will turn down Goldsmith Street to the very modern Police Station and ask to see the Roman pavement. It lies in the hall behind the stairs, and is best seen by looking over the bannisters. A simple design of black and white mosaic greets the eye, nothing of artistic merit as far as mosaic pavements are concerned. There is a seat against the wall near it, where the feet of those awaiting justice kick the tesserae now just as they kicked them some two thousand years ago. Herein is the significance of this fragment of ancient art. Exeter Guildhall is on the site of the Roman Pretorium, and where justice was done by the Romano-British Praepositus in Isca Damnoniorum, justice is still done by the Mayor of Exeter.

The word Guildhall indicates the existence

GUILDHALL, EXETER.

From an Etching by N. H. J. Baird.

(*By permission of Messrs. Eland Bros.*)

of gilds. Exeter had a Saxon Frith-gild in the eleventh century, neither a craft gild, nor a religious foundation, but enrolled for mutual support and assistance, and intended to keep the peace during a lawless period.

The earliest mention of the Guildhall is about 1154, when some payments were made by the Prior and Convent of St. Nicholas before William Hoel the Provost, in the "Gilthalla where the citizens were wont to resort."

In 1330 it was rebuilt, reconstructed again in 1464, the chapel of St. George in front of it was erected in 1486. This was demolished at the reformation, and in 1593 the "fore part of the Guildhall being ruinous and decayed" was re-edified, and the portico, of blended Gothic and Renaissance style, very much in vogue in the west country, was built.

A panelled door of great magnificence gives access to the hall, a fine lofty room with a timbered roof of the 14th century. The walls are panelled and decorated with carving exhibiting the same blend of styles as the portico, and of the same period. Along the top of the mouldings are shields, displaying the arms of Mayors, Recorders, Benefactors, and the Craft-gilds of the city.

The shield of Roger Fitz-Henry 1217, is shewn as that of the first Mayor of Exeter. Some earlier names are known. Until the

13th century civic affairs had been regulated by a Provost. A charter for a Mayor was granted by King John about 1200; we can pride ourselves in having had a Mayor before there was a Lord Mayor of London, London's charter being 1210.

On a dais at the end of the room is the Mayor's seat; a carved chair dated 1697, bearing the name of Christopher Ball, then Mayor.

The pictures will attract attention, especially the portrait of Exeter's princess, Henrietta Anne Duchess of Orleans, by Sir Peter Lely. This portrait of his favourite sister was presented to Exeter by Charles the Second, after his visit to the city in 1672, and shortly after her death. The face is rather sad, not suggestive of Stuart liveliness, though that was one of her characteristics. We note the tapering fingers just grasping the white satin dress, the painting of which is one of the effective details of the picture.

Another Lely portrait is that of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, best seen from the gallery. He was born in 1608 at Potheridge, in North Devon, but educated at his grandfather's residence, Matford House, Exeter. History mainly connects him with the restoration of Charles the Second, effected through his instrumentality. He is really more interesting as forming the link between the Elizabethan heroes

and Stuart times. The Grenvilles and Stucleys were family connections by marriage; Monk as a boy may have met Sir Walter Raleghe when he was paying one of his frequent visits to Sir Lewis Stucley at Farringdon, near Exeter, and young George Monk was there with his aunt, Lady Stucley. From his kinsman Sir Beville Grenville, the great cavalier, he would often have heard the story of Sir Richard Grenville and the Revenge.

The fine roof of the hall appears to best advantage seen from the gallery; weird monsters range along it upholding the beams, and the whole is richly coloured. The flags are those of the Dominions, presented to the city in acknowledgment of services done to the Colonial troops during the war.

At the head of the stairs is a case holding the Regalia, the City Swords, Cap of Maintenance, Maces, and Chains of Office.

For many years Exeter shared the ups and downs of York and Lancaster, ingeniously contriving to be "ever faithful" now to the white rose, then to the red. After seeing that Margaret of Anjou had safely embarked for France at Dartmouth, the city welcomed Edward the Fourth, and presented him with one hundred marks, receiving in return the small sword of which the scabbard is covered with crape. This is carried on occasions of state

mourning, and has been becraped ever since the execution of King Charles the First. In 1484 Richard the Third arrived in the city. John Atwell was then Mayor for the second time; Devon, led by the Courtenays, was suspected of being too Lancastrian, the Mayor was diplomatic, and Richard enjoyed seeing beheadings at the Carfax. Nevertheless John Atwell considerably upset his nerves by telling him, in good broad Devon, that Rougemont Castle was called Richmond, "whereat he fell into a great dump, as it had been a man amazed." Twice more was John Atwell Mayor, and the last time he and the city had their reward.

Exeter had resisted the attempt of Perkin Warbeck to seize her then impregnable walls. He came in after all, but as a prisoner brought by Henry VIIth, who entered the city in triumph, October, 1497, and as a reward for loyalty presented Exeter with the Cap of Maintenance and City Sword, symbolizing that the king would maintain the rights of the city, and defend them with his sword.

Instead of having heads cut off Henry had trees cut down, for the purpose of erecting a platform in the Close, on which he sat while some of the commons of Devon were brought before him in their shirts with ropes round their necks, to explain their behaviour in the matter of Perkin Warbeck. Having given them a

good fright, he graciously pardoned them. Perkin Warbeck had the unpleasant experience of being confronted with his wife, Catherine Gordon, to whom he had to make a public confession of his imposition.

The actual Cap of Maintenance of plain black felt is inside the ornate cover, the city paying £4 4s. for damask, sarcenet, and pin lace to decorate it. In 1634 another cover for the cap, and a new scabbard for the sword were procured. The blade, pommel, and cross of the sword are original. The pommel has a guinea of James the First let into it, and the initials J. R. have been added.

The four silver chains now worn by the mace bearers date from about 1500, and were previously worn by the city Waits. Exeter has four maces (most towns are content with two, and some manage to enforce justice with only one) those used to-day only date from the time of George the Second. Older ones certainly existed, for at the conclusion of the dispute between John Shillingford the mayor, and Bishop Lacy, in the 15th century, one of the terms of agreement was that the mayor should be allowed to have his maces carried before him into the Cathedral, a custom maintained to the present day.

A state visit of the Mayor to the Cathedral is an imposing function, not to be missed by visitors fortunate enough to be in Exeter on

one of these occasions. There is an air of importance and expectation in the very streets, the Cathedral is packed with officials and dignitaries. Presently the great west doors are thrown open, the Dean and Chapter advance to meet the Mayor, preceded by the choir. The strains of God save the King swell up to the roof, for the Mayor is the King's representative in the city. Joining their processions the dignitaries, civic and ecclesiastic, come down the centre of the nave ; there are great splashes of colour, gold of the Cross that leads the way, crimson of hoods, doctors robes, scarlet cloaks, gold chains, jewelled arms of the city on badges, and the great sword following the Cross, with the Cap of Maintenance carried on a cushion, all sweeping up into the choir.

Another periodical sight to be seen outside the Guildhall is the Sheriff's state coach, with its powdered and cocked hatted coachman and footmen, accompanied by a guard of police, escorting the judge to the Assizes, the Sheriff's chaplain in cassock and bands beside him. An enquiry about the spectacle was once addressed to the present writer in a " say, what's this ? " of unmistakable accent. Explanations being afforded, in the calm manner with which the Briton regards his time honoured customs, the further question followed in awe-struck tones, " do they always do it ? " And then the

Transatlantic pilgrim rushed hot foot after the coach to see as much of it as possible, with the fervency of the hunter of very big game.

All this is a digression. Leaving the Regalia we must ascend a few steps into the Mayor's Parlour, a delightful room, with an open hearth, deeply recessed windows and handsome furniture inlaid with ivory. The pictures are extremely interesting. Several of them are 16th century portraits painted on wood panels, stiff and formal but intensely individual. Here is William Hurst, painted A.D. 1568 aet 96. He was five times Mayor between 1524-1561, and contrived to keep the helm of Exeter's ship of state steady through all the changes of reformation times. Exeter would again have re-elected him, but he pleaded exemption on account of his age. The picture gives the impression of a frail old man, who has seen many changes, and had to participate in many affairs of which he did not quite approve.

Joan Tuckfield, A.D. 1573 aet 67, bears a strong likeness in her dry hard features to Queen Mary Tudor, a likeness heightened by the wearing of a similar head-dress, though that pattern of coif had long been out of fashion. She claims her place among city worthies by her benefaction given to provide shrouds and decent graves for criminals who suffered the extreme penalty of the law. We can imagine that

Widow Tuckfield thought the criminals deserved all they got, but that having expiated their crimes, might be decently interred, instead, as usually happened, being huddled naked into any hole that would cover them.

John Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter, was painted in 1601, aged 76. It was the fashion of the time to set the individual's age on the portrait. This seems the right place to make mention of a worthy already alluded to. Not only would no account of Exeter be complete without reference to his name, but it is not too much to say that there would not be any history of Exeter of any value, save for the exertions of Hooker.

He was born in 1525, his father Robert Hooker was Mayor in 1529, and took him in 1533 to hear Latimer preach outside St. Mary Major's church. Robert Hooker died of the plague in 1537. From John Hooker's own account of himself it is evident that in his youth he had the choice of extreme catholicism, or extreme protestantism. He so much pleased the Spanish Ambassador in 1543, that "he was fayne to have him in Salamanca." It would however appear that he had already chosen his side in the religious controversies of the times, for in 1548 he mentions "that most famose and learned man Peter Martyr, doctor of divinity, fflorentyne born, under whom the writer was a student in his howse in Stras-

bourghe." Here he must have imbibed the strong protestant opinions that characterize his writings, when he tells the story of the Prayer Book Rebellion; gives an account of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, or relates the attitude of the city at the dissolution of the monasteries.

In 1555 he was appointed Chamberlain of Exeter, an office he held till his death. His energy, and capability in civic affairs need not be enlarged on here. The work for which Exeter owes him undying gratitude is his Commonplace Book, in which he recorded the history of the city from its earliest traditions, entering details of customs, charters, and affairs, both civic and ecclesiastical. He concludes with Annals that give events from year to year till 1590. This manuscript is the source from which every subsequent historian of Exeter has borrowed information, not always with acknowledgment to the writer. We look at the serious, able face of the portrait with respect, as of one deserving the highest honour.

Elizabeth Flay was left in her widowhood to complete the almshouses founded by her husband's bequest. The painter of her portrait is unknown, but he must have been an artist of no small merit, for the work is beautiful. She died in 1673, aged 86, but the picture represents a woman in her thirties. The charming face is shaded by a high crowned, broad brimmed

hat, a ruff and cuffs of filmy lace, exquisitely painted, fall over her black dress. All visitors are shewn Sir Peter Lely's portrait of the Duchess of Orleans, but all should see this the most beautiful picture in the Guildhall.

These pictures of two women who were benefactors to their city, Joan Tuckfield, and Elizabeth Flay, afford us further matter for consideration. There is a tendancy at the present day to imagine that not until this century has woman shewn herself capable in public affairs. But here are two city dames of the 16th and 17th centuries, burgesses of their city planning good works, or carrying them through, with energy and ability, and leaving a notable record behind them. We do not know that they regarded themselves as exceptional, or that others thought they exceeded the prerogatives of their sex ; work had to be done and they did it, and were thought worthy to have their portraits hung in the most honoured place in their city.

The city arms were granted in 1564, and Queen Elizabeth bestowed the motto *Semper Fidelis*. Henry the Eighth in 1537, made Exeter a county, the highest honour that can be given to an English city ; thus Exeter comes to have its own Sheriff and courts of justice, independent of the county of Devon.

A valuable collection of civic manuscripts

is preserved in the muniment room. Of these one of the earliest, dating from the 12th century, bears the attestation of "Toma. Cancell," Thomas the Chancellor, otherwise Thomas á Becket, afterwards St. Thomas of Canterbury. The Shillingford Letters, written about 1442, predate the Paston Letters, and are the oldest private correspondence in England. Upon the ancient common seal of the city we look with feelings almost of awe, it dates from about 1170; the building depicted upon it probably represents the Guildhall as it appeared at that time.

Hands that since the 12th century pressed it into the wax have crumbled into dust, hands of to-day that still make its impress will in their turn lie idle and nerveless; but the seal, its impressions and the acts it ratifies remain.

Behind the Guildhall is the church of St. Pancras, dedicated to the boy saint martyred in Rome A.D. 304. It is a little building, still retaining a Norman font, and having good lancet windows with deep splays in the chancel. The small recess above the piscina may have held a reliquary. Rood loft doorways denote the former existence of a screen, against which was another altar, indicated by a second piscina on the south wall. The bell dates from the 15th century, and bears the initials of Robert Norton, an Exeter bell founder, who wrought in the time of Henry VIth.

St. Pancras was venerated from very early times by the Church. St. Augustine of Canterbury consecrated the first Christian church in Kent to his honour, and it is not impossible that here we have a church founded by Roman Christian settlers who had wandered into West Wales, people who felt themselves very far from home, and to whom the names and traditions of Celtic saints honoured in Caerwisc were strange and unknown.

Near St. Pancras' Church tradition places the monastery of Abbot Wolphard, where St. Boniface of Crediton was educated, in the 7th century. Nothing is known of this Abbey, but the tradition is the earliest notice of Exeter in connection with education.

After leaving the church the rambler, if he can find it, may return to the Fore Street by Parliament Street, a curiosity in streets, for surely nowhere else is there a passage so narrow called by so pretentious a title. The " Needle's Eye " gateway of Jerusalem required the camel to be divested of his burden before he could pass through it. In Parliament Street the dog and his master cannot walk side by side, nor would it be possible to go along with outstretched arms. It is just a thread of a street between the houses, the entrance to it at either end scarcely perceptible, un-named, perhaps because it is not wide enough to carry the length of its title.

ST. MARY ARCHES CHURCH.

CHAPTER VII.

ST. MARY ARCHES CHURCH; ST. NICHOLAS' PRIORY; THE NORMAN HALL.

WHEN the Normans settled in Exeter they seem to have been by no means satisfied with the buildings they found there; mean houses of cob and wattle, little churches of scarcely better materials, and an incommodious Saxon monastery serving as a cathedral.

The Bishop began reconstructing his church; to another church, St. Mary Major, a Norman tower was added, possibly the whole church was rebuilt; and the citizens built themselves a large church, known from the 13th century as *Capella Beatæ Mariæ de arcubus*, either from the Norman arches within, or the arch, or bow, that until the last century crossed St. Mary Arches Street.

The building remains to the present day notable among Devonshire churches as being the only one in the county with a Double Norman Arcade. All that now stands is a large nave with north and south aisles. There may have been an apsidal chancel in former times. A

chantry stood at the east end of each aisle. The circular columns with their scolloped capitals, are just a little later than Warelwast's cathedral towers. A soft pinkish tone prevails through the building due to the stone used in its construction, and against these rose tinted pillars and walls are dark memorials of past mayors, exhibiting in solemn dignity be-ruffed figures, armorial bearings and Latin epitaphs. Near the font is the mace stand used when the mayor annually attends the church.

Bishops of Exeter from 1232, until the end of the 14th century granted indulgences to the faithful who attended the anniversary of the dedication of the church, which was held on the eve of Trinity Sunday. The recurrence of these indulgences suggest that the faithful found the day inconvenient and did not attend.

Inventories of the church goods include "a cote for God Almighty," most likely worn by some performer of the Deity in a Morality play. There were seven coats of velvet for St. Mary, of which one was black, one tawny, and another red. These would have clothed her image on various occasions. The inventories also record "a cope of cloth of tissue with green raised velvet." The remains of this may still be found, incorporated with embroidered figures that have been on a chasuble. These were made into "a carpet for the altar" in the 18th century.

The crucifix on the back of the chasuble has gone, leaving the mark where it was sewn on the linen. Other embroidered figures of saints survive, and are recognizable, in spite of the bad treatment to which this ancient needle work (it is of the 15th century) was subjected in later years, when it was thrown over the choir stalls for the boys to sit on.

A merchant's mark appears on the floor in the south aisle, but the seats obscure the owner's name. From the mark we may judge he was one of the Weaver's gild, which had a chantry in the church. Another chantry was that of St. Thomas and St. Andrew, the patron saints of Thomas Andrew who founded it. He was mayor in 1505 and 1510, and his effigy still rests on the high tomb that records his death in 1518. The sides are decorated with little figures of saints in niches, and there are indications on the carvings at the back, ruthlessly hacked away, that this served for the Easter Sepulchre. At the base are the arms of the founder, and of the gild of Merchant Adventurers to which he belonged. This was the old gild, chartered by Edward IV, not the later Elizabethan company, though both associations may be described as chartered pirates with royal license to trade anywhere with any goods they could purchase, acquire, or convey.

Thomas Andrew had practical aims when

founding his chantry, not only was there an endowment for a priest to say masses, but twelve poor men were to be provided yearly with gowns of fryze, hosen, and woolen socks. Priest and poor alike lost the benefaction when Edward VI suppressed the chantries.

The charity endowed by Mr. John Davie still survives, so does his name included in Prince's Worthies of Devon. Three times was he mayor of Exeter, and the first time, in 1584, he entertained Don Antonio of Portugal, the Kynge of Portingall, as Hooker calls him, though he was only claimant of the crown, disputing the right of Phillip of Spain. Driven out by the stronger power he reached Plymouth, and came on to Exeter, staying at the mayor's house " where he and all his had theire interteynment both horse and men gratis and without any peny chardge." Mr. John Davie's merits are inscribed on the monument erected to his memory in this church in 1611.

On the north wall Thomas Walker and Margery his wife kneel on either side of a priedieu, with an epitaph below that tells us " here lie two walkers now at rest." He was three times Mayor before his death in 1628.

Richard Crossing died in 1682, he was elected Mayor in 1649, but refused to take office " because the king's government was by violence obstructed." A few years later he swallowed

his scruples, or could not face the fine levied upon all who would not serve under the Commonwealth, and was Mayor in 1654.

At the west end of the church is a mitre with the arms of the See of Exeter impaling Trelawney, formerly surmounting the reredos still behind the altar, its Masonic emblems, and beautiful naturalistic carvings, in the style of Grinling Gibbons hidden by draperies. Jonathan Trelawney had played his part in history before he was Bishop of Exeter; he was Bishop of Bristol when, with Archbishop Sancroft, he was one of the seven Bishops sent by James the Second to the Tower. His name is best remembered by the stirring ballad written in later times by Stephen Hawker of Morwenstowe, purporting to be the "Song of the Western Men," which they sang as they marched to his rescue :—

"Out spake their Captain brave and bold,
A merry wight was he,
'If London Tower were Michael's hold
We'll set Trelawney free!
Trelawney he's in keep and hold
And shall Trelawney die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornishmen
Will know the reason why.'"

These enterprising spirits reached Exeter, and there heard of the release of the Bishops from the Tower. Whereupon they shared in

the general rejoicings and returned home again. Trelawney was made Bishop of Exeter (1689-1707) and later translated to Winchester.

John Wesley visited Exeter in November, 1739, and the Rev. Robert Wight, rector of St. Mary Arches, allowed him to preach in the church on the 25th of that month. His morning sermon displeased the rector, who withdrew his permission for another in the evening, because Mr. Wesley's doctrine might lead to enthusiasm. Mr. Wight held the living for forty-seven years, during which period it is to be supposed that he kept his congregation at a due level of decorum.

At various intervals between 1743-1779, John or Charles Wesley, and George Whitfield, preached and ministered in Exeter. In 1745 the Methodists had a meeting house behind the Guildhall where on one occasion a mob collected and attacked the congregation after service, "many fled without their hats and wigs, the men had their coats rent in tatters, women were rolled into the gutter and besmeared with dirt." The leaders still persevered in preaching, and congregations were often so large that services were held in the open air. A chapel in Musgrave's Alley, called Gidley's Room was secured in 1778, described by Wesley as "neat and solemn." The Mint chapel was opened in 1813.

While passing down the Fore Street a large area on the right hand side was purposely

omitted. There was too much of interest in this locality for it to be dismissed by a few cursory remarks.

St. Olave's church has its name over the arched doorway, and is made conspicuous by the War Shrine outside it, the first erected in the city. The dedication to St. Olaf, the militant king of Norway, hero of Longfellow's Saga of King Olaf, is actually mentioned in Domesday Book, which records that the Abbot of Battle had in Exeter one church of St. Olave, and eight houses.

These eight houses then represented the Benedictine Priory of St. Nicholas, given by the Conqueror as part of the endowment of Battle Abbey. The monastery formerly occupied all the site where are now the Mint chapel and schools, the Roman Catholic school, and, at the end of Mint Street, a delightful enclosure with two houses and a garden called The Priory.

Gytha, Harold's mother is locally credited with the foundation both of St. Olave's church and the Priory. She certainly gave her manor of Sherford in South Devon to the Church, and when the Conqueror bestowed St. Nicholas on Battle Abbey, St. Olave's church and Sherford were part of the gift. Battle Abbey was little more than nominally founded when Domesday Book recorded its possessions in Exeter, but the

Priors of St. Nicholas retained the advowson of the church and of Sherford from Gytha's gift.

A great part of the monastic house has been restored at the expense of the city, resulting in giving Exeter a building recalling the medieval conditions of a Benedictine Priory. The part now public is on the south side of the former cloisters, the line of the cloister roof being discernible from the street.

The entrance is through the Cellarer's Checker, from which we can descend into the crypt, or undercroft, with its massive Norman columns and stone vaulting. Thence, ascending the stairs the guest hall, and guest room are entered, with the Prior's chamber close by, the planks worn by his pacings up and down, as he cogitated plans for the benefit of his convent. From the hall there is a stairway to the top of the tower, whence a good view over the city can be seen. Descending a winding stair the kitchen is reached, with its great fireplaces and ovens, and everywhere there is an indescribable impression of life and reality, as if it were possible still to see the brothers passing to and fro on their daily advocations.

The Prior's names are known, so also are those of donors who gave benefactions. Of the brothers there is no record, save of one who entered the convent soon after it was assigned to Battle Abbey.

He was Rualdus Adobatus ; Ruald, dubbed knight, probably by the Conqueror himself, for he was one of William's most noted adherents. Before the Conquest he was Seigneur of Dol in Brittany, and held that town for the Duke of Normandy in opposition to his own over-lord Conan of Brittany. Ruald and Harold both accompanied William on his campaign against Conan, and on the victorious conclusion of the expedition the Duke knighted Harold at Dinan and most likely dubbed Ruald knight at the same time. Ruald shared the invasion of England, and Domesday records seven Devonshire manors as being bestowed upon him. After a life of warfare he quitted the world, assumed the monastic habit, and withdrew into St. Nicholas' Priory to which he gave his manor of Poughill, near Crediton "on the day he entered religion." This occurred before 1104, the deed of gift bearing the seal of Osborn, second Bishop of Exeter.

Disputes with bishops about bell ringing, enquiries from Battle Abbey as to the rights of the priory concerning assize of bread and beer on the Devonshire manors, quarrels with the city about corn ground in the Priory mill, varied the even tenour of monastic days. We may feel sure that the Prior and convent regarded the persistent local prophecy that the Exe would one day run under St. Nicholas' church as never likely to be fulfilled.

But fulfilled it was, after a fashion. Hooker tells us how in 1539 one of the arches of Exe bridge fell down, and was new builded by Edward Bridgeman, warden of Exe bridge, "for which he boughte great store of stones at St. Nicholas late dyssolved: and then the prophecie was fullfylled which was sayde that the ryver of Exe shoulde run under St. Nicholas' church."

One of these stones, when the old Exe bridge was in its turn demolished, was made into a kerb stone at the corner of Gandy Street. There it stood for many years until some discerning antiquary observed that the blurred and weathered carving upon it was of Celtic design. The stone was taken up, and proved much longer than was anticipated, being undoubtedly the shaft of a Celtic cross, pre-dating any work at the Priory. It now stands in the building a venerable relic of bygone days.

On the north side of the monastery was the "poor man's parlour," where every day seven poor people had each a twopenny loaf, a pottel of ale, a piece of meat on flesh days, or fish on fast days. This parlour may have been in that part of the building across the street which was not secured when the restoration was undertaken and still remains a dwelling house. The Frater, or dormitory above the kitchen extended over

the cloister to the upper part of this house, evidences of its character being found during alterations some years ago.

The daily dole at the poor man's parlour was a loss no doubt much resented at the dissolution of the monastery, and may have occasioned the behaviour of certain "women and wyffes" who came to the church "some with spyttes, some with showells, some with pykes," and attacked the man who was taking down the rood loft. He was driven to the tower, and forced to jump out of the window, whereby he broke his ribs. These pugnacious ladies were Jone Reve, Elizabeth Glandfield, Agnes Colleton, Alys Mylle, and Jone Reed. Alderman John Blackaller tried to stop them, but Elizabeth Glandfield gave him a blow that sent him packing. Finally William Hurst, mayor, arrived with his possé, and put them all in ward.

The Priory has a continuous record as a dwelling place. Much indeed was demolished, and the church totally destroyed. But soon after the dissolution of the monastery, the house was secured by William Hurst, when, with John Grynfeld, he was Member of Parliament for Exeter in 1545. They divided it into two residences, and Grenfeld (Grenville) set his armorial bearings on the screen across the guest chamber. William Hurst did more in his part of the house. At the end of the entry

there is a panelled arch, one of the latest additions to the monastic buildings, as this work dates from 1470. It was a panelled tower arch, such as may be seen in many of the parish churches throughout East Devon. Here the ceilings have been enriched by plaster work, shewing the fleur-de-lys, Tudor Rose, and the initials W. H. of William Hurst.

Mural decorations of renaissance style are painted in the window recesses and across one end of the guest chamber, the designs suggesting that they were purposely chosen of as secular a type as possible.

The garden of the present Priory House was the convent orchard, and it is not improbable that the Mulberry tree may have been planted by William Hurst. Mulberries are long lived, though this one can hardly have dated from the monastic days of the Priory. The tree was early introduced into England, but there was a great vogue for planting mulberries in the 16th and 17th centuries. Either it is a curious coincidence, or the tree was planted with special purpose, for the Mulberry is dedicated to St. Nicholas, who blesses the trees on his feast day, December 6th.

Mint Street reminds us that Exeter minted its own coins from Saxon times. In the window recess of St. Nicholas crypt are two basons, used by the assayers for testing Exeter silver,

when they set on it the crowned X of the city hall mark. Many of the city churches retain beautiful communion cups that are so marked, and have also the IONS mark of John Jones, goldsmith, who wrought many of these cups about 1576.

There are two show cases in the guest chamber, one containing a variety of odds and ends found during the restoration of the building those unconsidered trifles that are the rubbish of one generation, and the relics of another. The second case is filled with the tillet blocks that were used by the cloth merchants in the palmy days of Exeter's woollen trade. They are beautiful examples of the neglected art of wood engraving, retained here as exhibits, but having no actual associations with the Priory.

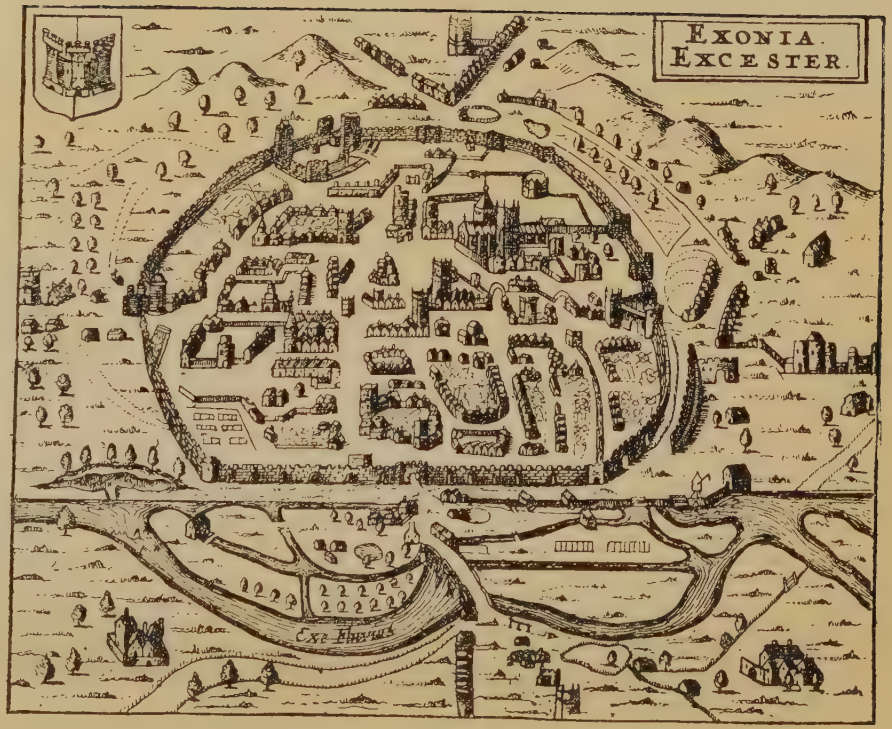
In course of years these rooms degenerated into workmen's dwellings, still preserving their old characteristics. A ceiling crossed the upper part of the guest chamber, and had rooms overhead. The space between the panelled arch and the crypt served as a coal cellar, yet even then the tenants felt a pride in the antiquity of their homes. In what may be designated the Norman half, lived an old woman who cleaned out St. Olave's church, always pleased to shew visitors her wonderful kitchen, though the massive Norman columns cannot have been very convenient to live with. She had a parlour

in the tower, gay with all the personal treasures dear alike to rich and poor. St. Olave's Sunday School was held in the other part, which was also used for parochial business. Later there was a further degeneration when the pleasant old caretaker passed away, and the crypt was let to a cabinet maker, who had necessary, but untidy messes all over the place, so that it was no longer possible to appreciate the pillars and vaulting. Happily the city took the buildings into its care, and preserved them from destruction with the result that Exeter can shew one of the most perfect examples of a monastic house in England.

Those familiar with old Exeter were well aware that the fragment of a Norman arch existed above the doorway of a house in King Street. All the dwellings near it were so dilapidated that they were condemned as unfit for habitation, and a general demolition commenced. It was then discovered that the arch with its chevron and pellet moulding, was the upper part of a Norman doorway. Further investigation revealed that here there was a twelfth century building, reconstructed in the 15th century, but retaining enough undisturbed Norman work, to uphold its claim to being one of the very ancient buildings of Exeter. The title of the Norman Hall has been bestowed upon it, but it is more likely to have been some

place connected with a religious foundation though as yet unidentified with any of the earlier chapels known to have existed in the city. Like St. Nicholas it had been divided into two houses in the 16th century, and must then have been the residence of a well-to-do citizen. who added an ornate plaster ceiling, above which remained the beams of the high pitched roof. Dilapidated though it was the city preserved it, and in some measure restored its earlier characteristics. The plaster ceiling has been taken down, and set against the wall, the collar braced roof repaired, with the Norman frieze of interlaced lozenges below it. Those who saw the house when it was first discovered will admit that it was more impressive in its tumble down condition, when the stairs were dangerous, the floors precarious, and excited antiquaries risked their bones searching for Norman features and 16th century details. Of its medieval owners nothing, so far, has been discovered. It is possible that in 1564 it was the residence of Edward Bridgeman, then Sheriff of Exeter, who may be identical with the Edward Bridgeman, warden of Exe bridge in 1539. He probably added the plaster ceiling. Any armorial bearings or initials that might have afforded a clue to the identity of residents, have entirely perished.

The wanderer who finds his way into this labyrinth of old narrow streets, will be rewarded for his pains. Quaint courts, old windows, old gables meet the eye everywhere. At the corner of Smythen Street are the remains of the shambles, or Butchers Row. Preston Street was formerly famous for its many taverns, and retains some charming old windows. These streets are paved, as someone described them, "with unboiled stones," the original cobble stones, with a gutter down the centre carrying a merry stream of water on wet days. The rubbish and filth that once defiled them have disappeared thanks to modern sanitation, but it is still possible to realize and shudder over the past conditions, described in 1802, by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella (in the person of Robert Southey) who expressed his opinion freely of the bye streets of the city, merely dirty lanes, unflagged, uncleaned, where the inhabitants would not clear the dirt from in front of their doors because they were not bound to do so.



MAP OF EXETER 1661.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CASTLE AND THE WALLS—WITHIN AND BEYOND THEM.

THE Lioness had only one cub, but that was a Lion ; Exeter has only one quotation, but that is Shakespeare. The lines are from Richard IIIrd.—

> " When last I was in Exeter,
> The mayor in his courtesy shewed me the castle
> And called it Richmond : at which name I started,
> Because a bard in Ireland told me once
> I should not live long after I saw Richmond."

Richmond, Rougemont, the Red Mount, so the Normans named the red cliff they saw rising above the river, and marked how, if fortified it would render the city practically impregnable from the north east.

Athelstan built, or repaired, the walls A.D. 932. Probably some sort of earth work then occupied the summit of Rougemont. There are earth works on nearly every hill in the neighbourhood, and it is not likely that one of the most important should have lacked a stronghold. The fact that Athelstan's walls enclosed the mount is an argument in favour of its being crowned with some such camp.

On the south east he rendered the approaches to the city more difficult by making a ditch in the valley still known as Athelstan's Dyke.

CHELSEA

On entering Exeter in 1068 the Conqueror placed the city under the rule of Baldwin, Sheriff of Devon. Baldwin immediately built Rougemont castle to serve as his headquarters, and to dominate the city. Like his successors Baldwin held the castle for the king, and under the king. The citizens as long as they paid their dues might manage their own affairs, so that in the 13th century there were in Exeter three independent parties, willing enough to agree as long as no one of them interfered with the other two.

The Bishops, occupied with their new Cathedral; the Mayor managing civic affairs at the Guildhall, and the over-lord with his men at arms at Rougemont. He had the worst time of it, being dispossessed if he happened to encounter royal displeasure. In 1231 Henry III bestowed the Castle on his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, afterwards Richard, King of the Romans, who granted charters to the city under that august title.

Edward II created Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, Rougemont being included with the Earldom, but his association with Exeter brought no honour either to him or the city. Eventually Edward the Third made Cornwall into a Duchy still including Rougemont.

When Henry VIII raised Exeter to the dignity of a County this ancient possession of

the Crown was excepted, and belongs to the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall to the present day.

Centuries have passed since the Castle dominated the city in formidable dignity; it was described at the end of Elizabeth's reign as "an old ruinous castle whose gaping chinks and aged countenance presageth a downfall ere long."

Nominally it was a Royal fortress, and out of it marched Sir John Berkeley with all the honours of war, when, in 1646 he had to surrender to Fairfax. Cosimo de Medici saw it in 1669, "a square enclosure surrounded by walls, with ancient towers dismantled both of guns and troops, there being no soldiers in the city but militia." This state of affairs must have surprised the Duke of Tuscany, accustomed to perpetual rivalries between city and city, necessitating strong defences, and at a period when the king's government was only just restored after a long usurpation.

West countrymen had exaggerated opinions as to the strategic importance of Exeter. Much history has been made, or hindered, by those who regarded it as necessary to secure the city at all costs. When William of Orange arrived in 1688 he was taken round the walls, and the suggestion made that he should hold Exeter until he learnt the attitude of the country

towards him. His reply was: "I could take this city with baked apples." After which verdict Exeter disappears from military chronicles.

As we stand on the city wall at the eastern end of the castle yard, a red church tower may be seen rising above the houses no great distance away. It is the tower of St. Sidwell's church, dedicated to Exeter's local saint, whose relics Athelstan gave to his monastery, and which were carefully preserved by Leofric among the treasures of the Cathedral. Grandisson appointed services for August 2nd, "in honour of the passion at Exeter of St. Sativola, virgin and martyr," when her legend was read as the lesson. Leland had her story told him when he came here: How one Benna was her father, that she was born in Exeter, and by the craft of her stepmother was beheaded with a scythe in a meadow outside the city. He also mentions St. Sidwell's well, near which she was martyred. Well Lane still preserves the name, and the well yet exists on the side of the Southern Railway bank, visible from the passing train to those who know its situation. In the church she is represented on the capitals of the 15th century pillars, with the scythe, and with, or without her head, as the sculptor fancied. Sometimes, like St. Denys, she carries it under her arm, but the scythe is her constant emblem.

During the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549, this church, which is outside the city walls, was held by the rebels, and in the tower they imprisoned Mr. Walter Raleghe, the father of Elizabeth's knight. He made good use of his time there, for he managed to secure all the plate and vestments belonging to the church, and when released walked off with them in a bundle under his arm. On subsequent enquiries being made about them he professed blank ignorance as to the plate, but offered to return a cope "if it were not already made into a sparver (canopy) for a bed."

On the north wall of the church a brass plate is inscribed :

HIC JACET HUGO GROVES DE ENSFORD
IN COMITATU WILTS ARMIGER
IN RESTITUENDO ECCLESIAM
IN ASSERENDO REGEM
IN PROPUGNANDO LEGEM ET LIBERTATIM
ANGLICANUM
CAPTUS EST ET DECOLATUS
16 MAII 1655.

The execution must have been one of the last of such scenes in Exeter. Hugh Groves and John Penruddock, gentlemen of Wiltshire, were foremost in what has been called Wagstaff's Rebellion, a futile attempt to overthrow Cromwell's government. The insurgents

meeting no support, surrendered at South Molton in North Devon, Sir Joseph Wagstaff escaping by leaping his horse over part of the churchyard wall, still known as "Wagstaff's wall." Groves and Penruddock were brought to Exeter, and beheaded in the Castle Yard, many of the spectators secretly sympathizing over their fate.

Near the street, just inside the railings of St. Sidwell's churchyard a grave stone records Peter Hennis, M.D., died March 18, 1833, aged 31. He was killed in one of the last duels fought in England. From the contemporary diary, previously quoted, we learn that Sir John Jeffcott, made some disparaging remarks about an Exeter lady, which he would not retract. Dr. Hennis defended her reputation, and challenged Sir John. On May 11th, 1833, the opponents fought on Haldon, and Dr. Hennis was mortally wounded. Sir John got abroad from Plymouth, but in 1834 returned to Exeter and gave himself up to justice. He pleaded not guilty, no prosecutor appeared and he was discharged.

These rambles near the Castle began with a quotation from Shakespeare, it is not impossible that he may himself have been in Exeter and heard personally the story of Richard III and Richmond. It is known that the King's Players were in Barnstaple in 1605, and among

these players was William Shakespeare. Would they have got to Barnstaple, and not visited Exeter? Incredible!

It may be added that Shakespeare does not spell Ruin for Exeter managers, however empty the little Theatre Royal, built just below the Red Mount, may be on other occasions; Shakespeare always draws a full house.

Edmund Kean first attracted public notice by his acting in Exeter. On March 14, 1814, an advertisement announced the performance of The Honeymoon, and Rosina "Edmund Kean leading in each department."

By this time he had gained celebrity at Drury Lane; a letter of an earlier date gives some account of his career, the writer Mrs. Merivale, telling a friend: "Once upon a time there was a company of actors in Exeter, and among a most stupid set one man alone was not only above the rest, but above any one we had ever seen." She describes his "benefit" at Teignmouth, "in a miserable theatre; first in a kind of ballet with his little boy, then he acted Shylock in a manner truly surprising, lastly going through a Pantomime as a most active Harlequin." For all this he was then paid £7 a month.

Maria Foote made her debut in Exeter, August 24, 1815, as Juliet, also acting in Othello and the Belle's Stratagem the same week. Her

first appearance must have been severely handicapped, for that very week all Exeter was rushing to Torquay to get a glimpse of Napoleon on board the Bellerophon.

In 1831 our diarist describes "the young ladies" as going to see Mrs. Beverley and Miss Kemble in The Gamester. They were also so delighted with Miss Kemble's Juliet that they saw her three times. Another great pleasure was the marvellous playing of Paganini.

The Castle had its chapel and its prison, the latter being the county gaol. Warden's Accounts from country parishes record regular payments "to the gayle at Exeter Castle." Exeter had many "gayles" all extremely unpleasant. There was the prison at the East Gate, with conditions so vile that at the fitly named Black Assizes, several of the jury, the prisoners, and country gentlemen attending the court died of gaol fever. The Mayor's prison was "the pitt behind the Guildhall," it doesn't sound nice. The Bishop had the Lollard's prison at the Palace. Over the South Gate was the debtor's prison; from its windows the debtors would let down a shoe on a cord to collect alms from the passers-by. In which of these was Hudibras confined?

> "And when all other means did fail
> Had been redeemed for pots of ale . . ."

An incident commentators assert to have happened in Exeter.

Of Baldwin's castle there remains but the gate house at the top of Castle Street; lofty, picturesque, and though no longer formidable, reminiscent of the guard room, with sentries keeping watch, and the portcullis crashing down after sunset, while Great Peter rang the curfew from the Cathedral towers below. The Rougemont gardens occupy the Castle moat, and winding paths ascend the steep escarpment, eventually leading into Northernhay.

Part of this locality was originally called "The Vineyard" and the narrow walks on the escarpment near the student's hostel were the terraces on which the vines were cultivated, as they are still grown in the Rhineland. At a much later period a row of houses stood at the top of the steep slope, called Bradninch Place, as this is Crown property of the Duchy of Cornwall. Bradninch, from which the name was taken, is about twelve miles from Exeter: "an olde and auncyent towne, alwayes a parcell of the erledome of Cornwalle and the Erles now Dukes of Cornwalle were named Barons of Bradninch."

Bradninch was also a borough town, and not until 1886 was the Corporation dissolved. The little place lives in hopes of seeing its dignities restored, cherishing a tiny Guildhall, some mayors robes and maces.

Out of these details the lively students of

the University of the West, have evolved a mock "Borough of Bradninch," with a Mayor, Town Clerk and other accessories. Recently the Prince of Wales was invested with the Freedom of the Borough of Bradninch, and graciously expressed his hope that he should behave as a good burgess, while reminding the "Corporation" that the manor of Bradninch had belonged to the Duchy of Cornwall for many hundred years. The ceremonial, with its accompanying merriment, considerably puzzled the reporters of the London papers, who evidently failed to make head or tail of the affair.

A pleasant walk on Northernhay was made for the citizens in 1612. The trees were however felled in 1642, probably for military purposes. In 1662 two hundred young elms were planted. Just inside the gate at the eastern entrance to the gardens is the bronze statue, The Deer Stalker, by E. B. Stephens, R.A., who presented what he considered his best piece of work to his native city. Above is the city wall with a bastion transformed into a summer house, possibly the Gallants bower of the 17th century, near which there were then wooden benches.

Statues of Devon's worthies adorn the gardens, and at the western end on a broad plateau is erected Exeter's War Memorial, the work of John Angel, a native of the city. On the top of the plinth stands Victory trampling

on the Demon of Tyranny and Wrong. At the base are bronze figures of the Soldier, Sailor, Prisoner and Nurse, who took their part in the struggle. It is a fine conception and adds to the dignity of the city.

Here we are outside the city wall, which runs down below Rougemont, until broken by Queen Street.

Close at hand is the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, which caters for the Art, Science, and Literature of young Exeter, putting forth sturdy growths, which have gradually developed from their modest beginnings as University Extension Lectures, in the " eighties " of the last century, to the recent foundation of the University of the West.

Museums are national umbrellas, for the shelter of ramblers on rainy days. Provincial Museums serve to exhibit the curiosities of Nature, and the triumphs of Art to those who have few opportunities of reaching larger centres. For these capacities Exeter's Museum is well endowed. When the sun shines it is more profitable to respond to the insistent call of the old city streets.

Nearly opposite the Museum is the Market, gay with flowers and fruit all the week, and busily thronged on Friday, Market Day, a sort of Feast of St. Friday when everything of any consequence takes place in Exeter. The Friday

market is remarkable, for as we mingle in the crowd we wonder who are the purchasers of the old clothes, texts, tracts, china ornaments, and general odds and ends that fill miscellaneous stalls. There must yet be unsophisticated country folk who jog to market in a little cart dispose of their eggs, butter and flowers, buy sweets and fairings for the children, and jog home again, as if there were no shops in the city. Before the Queen Street market was built, the market was held in the High Street and Fore Street, booths being set up at the sides of the streets. The unpleasantness of this arrangement is evident from the descriptions given in old accounts of the city. Traditions of the inconvenience lingered long after things had altered, elderly ladies from country places avoiding Exeter on market days "because the streets were so very disagreeable."

Straight down drops the line of the wall, and we find ourselves in North Street. Up again a little way and we reach All Hallows churchyard near which we stand actually on the top of the wall.

A broad terrace overlooks a disused graveyard, laid out with paths and shrubs. Through the valley, formerly much deeper, runs the Long Brook, now covered over. St. David's church, of Celtic foundation, but recent rebuilding, stands on the rise, once St. David's Down.

On Mount Dinham, St. Michael's church, with its lofty spire is conspicuous, Dinham's Almshouses clustering round it. Dane's Camp beyond is now the site of the city reservoir, and the view finally extends to the green hills far away that encircle Exeter.

From the terrace steps descend into the churchyard, and afford access to one of the most remarkable places any city can shew. There is a walk by the wall with gates grim and rusty, opening on to it. These, when unlocked by the caretaker, admit us into a dim passage, arched and vaulted ; one side is honeycombed with openings, some vacant, some closed up, where the more aristocratic of the departed citizens of Exeter were accommodated on shelves, during the 18th and early 19th centuries. In one direction lie the Church folk, in another the Nonconformists, their creeds strictly separated by an iron grille. A weird unforgettable catacomb, from which we emerge with a sense of relief at once more seeing the sunshine, and feeling the fresh air. Even the forgotten dead who have to stay there must be objects of pity.

The Franciscan Friars found their way to Exeter before 1240. Nine reached East Anglia in 1224, of whom four were Englishmen who had joined the Order in Italy. One of these was Richard of Devon ; he must have personally known St. Francis, and we hear that he was

conspicuous for his ascetic fervour and devotion. We can readily believe he would have been eager to establish the Order in Devon. Before 1287 a site between Snayle Tower on the wall, and Bartholomew Street was granted to them by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, son of Richard, King of the Romans.

It was in the vilest part of the city, but the Friars were willing to accept the poorest and meanest habitations. Some time afterwards Edward the First visited Exeter, bringing a train of nobles, and courtiers with him, who were accommodated with lodgings in various parts of the city. To the Earl of Hereford quarters were assigned in the Friernhay. Of these he complained that they were detestable, the stench intolerable, and the locality so unhealthy that nine bretheren had died in two years. King Edward begged Bishop Blondy to find the Friars a better residence, and left the city with the Bishop's assurance given to him that he would do something for them. Deodatus, principal of the Exeter Franciscans was appointed to choose a new site. He invited William de Exonia, then head of the community in Oxford, but evidently a local man, to help him. Land was offered beyond the South Gate, but this was declared to infringe on the Bishop's fee, so that : " the bishop's wrath was kindled against the Franciscans, and he swore by the

blessed Peter that he would be strangled the day a Friar entered the place." Which (goes on the chronicle) "*factum est Deo volente*, for he was choked eating soup on the day of St. Francis, and from that time forth none dared oppose the bretheren." The Archway of the gate of this second foundation can still be seen in Quay Lane.

After the dissolution of the monasteries the open spaces on Friernhay were used by the Fullers for their rack fields, where the cloth was stretched after fulling. There are frequent references to the "racks on Friernhay" and Rack Street preserves their memory to the present day.

The church of All Hallows on the Walls is farther north than the original building, which was the only church abandoned when, in 1658 orders were given that all but four churches in the city should be sold, and the rest, if not used as schools, demolished.

All Hallows remained a roofless gaping ruin until removed in the 18th century, for the purpose of altering the Fore Street and building the second Exe bridge.

Mayor Walter Gervase built the first bridge about 1231. Till then the river was crossed by a ford and a foot bridge, the latter frequently washed away by floods. Walter Gervase built a stone bridge, and was buried in a chantry

chapel upon it. Centuries later the bones of a tall man were disinterred on this spot, and reverently replaced, so that he still keeps watch over Exeter by the river. Like all medieval bridges this one stretched many arched over the swampy ground on the shore. Some of the arches can still be seen below St. Edmund's church, then called St. Edmund super pontem ; dedications to St. Edmund specially pertaining to bridges, owing to the tradition that St. Edmund when trying to escape the Danes concealed himself under a bridge whose arches stood on reedy soil beside the water.

The old Exe Bridge had thirteen arches, no two alike. Houses were erected upon it at each end, in the centre was an open space, where a doorway and flight of steps led to a long vaulted room, called the " pixhay." This " fairy-house " as it has been designated, was Mayor Gervase's chapel, termed the Pixhay, from a confused rememberance of former times, when the pyx with the Host was suspended before the altar.

West Street traverses the top of the city wall, of which the construction may be studied in Cricklepit Lane just below.

A blocked arch at the further end indicates the Water Gate, or Quay Gate, the oldest of the city gates. From this gate fled Gytha, the mother of Harold before the Conqueror reached

the city. A few years previously Exeter had known her as a benefactress, and one of the greatest ladies in the land ; now all was lost, even the faithful city dared shelter her no longer. Accompanied by her daughter Gunhilda she stole out by night through the Water Gate and escaped down the river a homeless fugitive.

From West Street we overlook the Exe, a silver stream where the sea-gulls hover, and swans float leisurely on the water, and in the basin, or beside the quay are moored the " little trading boats that fill with every tide."

They reach the Port of Exeter by the Canal, of which the entrance is just perceptible. It is the oldest canal in England. As early as 1539 an Act of Parliament was procured " for the new making of the haven of the city of Exon." In 1545 it was begun, and the city churches contributed with their plate towards the cost ; whereby, in less than ten years the mayor had to answer for the value of the plate to Edward the Sixth's church goods commissioners.

After some deliberation, necessitating a journey to London to explain matters, a hazardous and anxious undertaking at a time when halter and axe plied freely, government cancelled the bond for the repayment of 400 marks. Exeter is to be congratulated that when the great pillage of the churches was effected, the city actually secured something for a local benefit.

The canal at Double Locks is a gay scene on a summer evening when the youth and maidens of the city paddle thitherwards in little row boats, or pushing into the banks ship their oars and idle away the lengthened hours of Summer-time. Often they return laden with bunches of golden iris from the marshes as the moon rises and throws silver paths across the water, and Exeter piles up dim and grey above her walls. It was from the canal bank that Turner painted his picture of the city, and the aspect as he viewed it is little altered.

These rambles have been restricted to the boundaries of Old Exeter within the city walls. Further extensions might be made and much information given about the greater Exeter which has been gradually incorporated into the city. But the subject is so inexhaustible that some limit has to be rigidly observed, and if Ramblers do not leave something undiscovered they have no excuse for renewing their explorations at some future time.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS.

In the following chronology traditions of Roman occupation, for which there is no authentic evidence, have been set aside, and frequent sieges, alarums, and excursions, that do not concern these wanderings, omitted. The intention has merely been to make a chronicle which will enable readers to note at a glance the principal dates of local history, and of the Bishop who at such a date was occupying the See.

BRITISH EXETER.	St. Petroc, the apostle of the west, died circa A.D. 580, his festival was observed on June 4th. St. Petroc's church was probably one of his mission stations.
ST. BONIFACE.	Born at Crediton A.D. 680, brought to Exeter for his education A.D. 693, martyred in Frisia A.D. 755.
A.D. 909.	Bishopstool of Devon established at Crediton.
10th CENTURY.	Athelstan (925-941) built the city walls, founded the monastery of St. Peter and St. Mary, and sent the British inhabitants of Exeter to settle beyond the Tamar.
1050	Leofric enthroned as first bishop of Exeter, by Edward the Confessor and Queen Editha. Athelstan's monastery made into the Cathedral.

	Events.	*Bishops.*
1068	William the Conqueror in Exeter, foundation of the Castle.	Leofric.
1086	Exeter Domesday Book compiled	Osbern, 1072.

1107	(circa) Norman towers erected.	William Warelwast, 1107-1136.
1154	First mention of the Guildhall.	Robert Chichester, 1138-1155.
1194	(circa) Norman Cathedral completed.	Henry Marshall, 1194-1206.
1200	Grant of a charter for a mayor by King John.	
1224	(circa) Appointment of the Dean and Chapter.	William Brewer, 1224-1244.
1231	Building of the first Exe Bridge by Walter Gervase, mayor.	
1240	Arrival of the Franciscans	
1257	Richard, Earl of Cornwall lord of Rougemont, elected King of the Romans.	Walter Bronescombe 1257-1280
1280	Commencement of the Decorated Cathedral.	Peter Quivil, 1280-1291.
1292	New Choir begun.	Thomas de Bytton 1292-1307.
1326	Oct. 26. Bishop Stapeldon Treasurer of Edward IInd, murdered in London.	Walter de Stapeldon 1308-1326.
1337	Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) created Duke of Cornwall, Rougemont Castle assigned as part of the Duchy.	John De Grandisson 1327-1369.
1348-49	The Black Death hinders the work at the Cathedral.	
1369	Nov. 21. Dedication of the completed Cathedral.	
1370	(circa) West Front of the Cathedral completed.	Thomas Brantyngham, 1370-1394.
1388	Hall of the Vicars Choral built.	

1389	East window renewed in the choir of the Cathedral.	Edmund Stafford, 1395-1419, Tomb in Lady Chapel. John Catrik, 1419 Never came to the Diocese. Buried in Santa Croce Florence Dec. 28, 1419.
1420	(circa) Chapter house rebuilt	Edmund Lacy, 1420-1455
1447	Shillingford letters written.	
1464	Guildhall rebuilt.	George Neville, 1458-1465
1471	Tucker's Hall built.	John Boothe, 1465-1478
1483	Richard III. in Exeter.	Peter Courtenay, 1478-1486
1484	"Great Peter" bell, given by Bishop Courtenay.	
1497	Aug. City besieged by Perkin Warbeck.	Richard Redman, 1496-1501
1497	Oct. Visit of Henry VII., gift of city sword and cap of maintenance.	
1501	Arrival of Katherine of Arragon.	
1531	Execution of Thomas Bennet.	John Vesey, 1519-1551
1533	Latimer preached in Exeter.	
1536	Dissolution of St. Nicholas Priory.	
1537	Exeter made a County by Henry VIII.	
1549	Siege of the Prayer-book Rebellion.	

		Myles Coverdale, 1551-1553.
1557	Martyrdom of Agnes Prest	James Turberville, 1555-1559
1564	Grant of arms, and motto Semper Fidelis.	William Alleyn, 1560-1570
1634	Thomas Shapcote the friend of Herrick resided in the Close.	Joseph Hall, 1627-1641
1644	Henrietta Anne, youngest daughter of Charles I. born at Bedford House.	Ralph Brownrigg, 1642-1659
1646	Surrender of the city to Fairfax.	
1655	Execution of Groves and Penruddock at the Castle.	
1669	Visit of Cosimo III. di Medici, Duke of Tuscany.	Anthony Sparrow 1667-1676
1688	Arrival of William of Orange	Thomas Lamplugh, 1676-1688
1739	John Wesley preached at St. Mary Arches.	Stephen Weston, 1724-1742
1778	Second Exe Bridge built	John Ross, 1778-1792
1789	George III. visited the city.	
1814	Edmund Kean, actor, in Exeter.	George Pelham, 1807-1820
1830-1837.	Lady Paterson of Exeter wrote her diary, quoted in this volume.	Henry Phillpotts, 1831-1868
1835	Charles Dickens in Exeter	
1837	Opening of Queen Street, named in honour of Queen Victoria.	
1877	Cathedral restored under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott.	Frederick Temple, 1869, Bishop of London, 1885, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1896.

INDEX OF PLACES.

Abbots Lodge, 58.
All Hallows Churchyard, 110,.111.
Annivellers College, 64.
Apollo Room, 14.
Apothecaries Hall, 7.
Athelstan's Dyke, 99.
Bampfylde House, 9.
Bartholomew Street, 112.
Bedford Circus, 10.
Bedford House, 11.
Bishop Blaize Inn, 23.
Bishop's Lepers Hospital, 7.
Bishop's Palace, 58, 65, 66.
Bradninch Place, 107.
Broad Gate, 57.
Butchers' Row, 98.
Canal, 115.
Carfax, 16.
Cathedral, 26-56.
Chancellerie, 60.
Country House Inn, 64.
County War Memorial, 66.
Cricklepit Mill, 24.
Crolldítch, 8, 57.
Cross (Celtic), 92.
Danes' Camp, 111.
Deanery, 65.
Devon and Exeter Institution, 60.
East Gate, 6, 106.
Exe Bridge, 92, 113.
Exe Island, 23.
Friernhay, 113.
Frog Street, 24.
Gate House, 58.
Goldsmith Street, 70.
Guildhall, 71.
Hooker (Statue), 65.
Law Library, 60.
Long Brook, 110.
Market, 109.
Martin's Gate, 57.
Mayor's Parlour, 77.
Mile End Cottage, 20.
Mint Street, 94.
Mol's Coffee House, 62, 63.
Mount Dinham, 111.
Muniment Room, 81.
Newe Inn, 11.
Norman Hall, 96.
Northernhay, 108.
Palace Gate, 57.
Parliament Street, 82.

Preston Street, 98.
Priory House, 94.
Quay Lane, 113.
Queen Street, 6.
Roman Pavement, 70.
Rougemont Castle, 99.
Royal Albert Memorial Museum, 109.
Royal Clarence Hotel, 64.
St. Edmund's Church, 114.
St. David's Church, 110.
St. John's School, 7.
St. Katherine's Almshouses, 64.
St. Kerrian's Church, 18.
St. Lawrence's Church, 9.
St. Martin's Church, 62, 63.
St. Mary Arches Church, 83.
St. Mary Major's Church, 68.
St. Mary Steps Church, 24.
St. Michael's Church, 111.
St. Nicholas' Priory, 89.
St. Olave's Church, 89.
St. Pancras' Church, 81.
St. Petrock's Church, 17.
St. Peter (Statue), 16.
St. Sidwell's Church, 102.
St. Stephen's Church, 14.
Smythen Street, 98.
Snayle Tower, 112.
Southernhay, 58.
Stepcote Hill, 24.
Stephen's Bow, 14.
Theatre, 105.
Tuckers' Hall, 21.
Tudor House, 23.
Turk's Head, 19.
Underground Passages, 8.
Vicars Choral (Hall of), 66, 67.
Vineyard (The), 107.
War Memorial, 108.
Water Gate, 114.
Well Lane, 102.
West Gate, 24, 25.
West Street, 114, 115.

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